

NOTES

0.1 (1) An extravagant compliment: Sībawayhi was the founder of Arabic grammar as a coherent discipline, a Persian by origin who came to Baṣra in the middle of the eighth century to study law, but who then turned to grammar as a pupil of al-Ḳalīl ibn Aḥmad (see below). Using his legal knowledge as a model, Sībawayhi produced a strictly functional analysis of Arabic, embodying the results in a work known simply as 'the Book' (*al-Kitāb*), which has remained ever since the principal source of all grammatical science. He died, aged about 40, some time between 777 and 809. See *G.A.L.* I, 100, *E.I.* (1), art. 'Sībawaihi', Carter, *R.E.I.* 40, 69.

Al-Ḳalīl ibn Aḥmad, the master of Sībawayhi, died between 776 and 791 (the later date is preferred, since it is also reported that he died after Sībawayhi). He is best known for his work in the areas of lexicography and metrics; though his contributions to the *Kitāb* are numerous and important, it is possible that his achievements in the field of pure syntax have been overestimated. See *G.A.L.* I, 100, *E.I.* (2), art. 'al-Ḳhalīl b. Aḥmad', W. Reuschel, *al-Ḥalīl ibn-Aḥmad, der Lehrer Sībawaihs, als Grammatiker*, Berlin 1959, Carter, *J.A.O.S.* 93, 146.

0.2 (1) These are puns on the technical terms of grammar, an affectation which goes back at least to the time of Ibn Hišām (d. 1360, see 1.02 n 1), e.g. *Qaṭr* 1, n 5, and which has become routine with later commentators, e.g. al-Uṣmūnī (d. 1467) on *Alf.*, al-Azhari (d. 1499) on *Āj.*, etc. For the case/mood names which provide these puns see 3.1 ('exalts' = independence), 3.5 ('object' = dependence), 3.8 ('compliance' = obliqueness), 3.9 ('inflexible decision' = apocoptation).

0.3 (1) This is an echo of S. 112 vv 1-3. See further 22.5 on the declaration 'there is no god but God', and 5.71 on 'who bore not, nor was born'.

(2) The Qur'ān is by no means helpful on the topic of intercession, which carries with it the problem of impinging on God's omnipotence. However, the doctrine evolved that Muḥammad had the power to make intercession on Judgement Day (see *E.I.* (1), art. 'Ṣhaḥā^ca'). It is not clear whether aṣ-Ṣirbīnī's phrase 'Great Intercession' refers to Muḥammad's primacy among those permitted to intercede, or to the division of intercession into two kinds, one evidently allowing intercession on behalf of individuals, and the other a general intercession for all believers guilty of mortal sins (see refs. in *E.I.* (1) to Ibn Ḥazm, *al-Fiṣal fī l-milal*, Cairo 1321, IV, 63f).

0.4 (1) The full title of the work is *al-Muqaddima l-'ājurrūmiyya* 'The Ibn Ājurrūm Introduction', most commonly abbreviated to *al-'Ājurrūmiyya* 'The one of Ibn Ājurrūm'. Strictly *'ājurrūmiyya* is the fem. of the adjective *'ājurrūmī* 'related to Ibn Ājurrūm', formed by suffixing *ī* to the name (cf. 11.721 n 4). On the popularity of the work see 0.5 n 3.

(2) His full name is given in *G.A.L.* II, 237 and *E.I.* (2), art. 'Ibn Ādjurrūm'. Little is known about him, except that he died in Fez in 1323, where he had been a teacher. In *Buḡyat al-wuḥāh* (Cairo 1964), I, 238, as-Suyūṭī declares that from his reading of the *Ājurrūmiyya* he deduces that the author was of the 'Kūfan' persuasion (see 9.4 n 3).

(3) On spelling instructions see 3.44 n 2. The names of the letters are replaced in transcription with the letters themselves (but see 5.51 n 1 for one kind of exception); these should, of course, be in square brackets or between oblique strokes according to whether they are phones or phonemes, but this is a distinction which is not formalized in Arabic (but see 1.11 n 2). Both ' and ā are notated with the same letter, q.v. 2.43 n 2. The three short vowels (4.01) are called *fatha* (a, literally 'opening'), *kasra* (i, lit. 'breaking') and *ḍamma* (u, lit. 'drawing together'). That these names might be related to the physiology of vowel production is clear enough, though it is not easy to take the idea any further, cf. *E.I.* (2), art. 'Ḥaraka wa-sukūn'.

(4) *Faqīr* = 'poor, mendicant', *ṣūfī* = 'mystic, ascetic' (cf. *G.A.L.* S II 332). *Buḡyat al-wuḥāh* I, 238 gives *Ākurrūm* as a variant.

(5) See 1.01 and notes for the nature and purpose of grammar.

(6) This work is not in Brockelmann (*G.A.L.* II, 320), nor are any copies known, and we assume the work is lost. His *Šarh šawāhid al-Qaṭr* 'Commentary on the verses quoted in the *Qaṭr*' (*G.A.L.* S II, 17) is no more than a parsing of the said verses, and cannot be the missing work.

(7) Founder of the Šāfi'ī school of law, he lived from 767 to 820 (*G.A.S.* I, 484). His mausoleum is in Cairo, and the Šāfi'ī school is the dominant Egyptian rite.

0.5 (1) Following an old tradition aš-Širbīnī has given his book a rhyming title (*'ājurrūmiyya/sajiyya*; the latter means 'a faculty or quality firmly rooted in the mind', Lane). If these notes were to have a title of the same nature, it would be *aṭ-ṭuruq al-mutasarriba 'ilā l-'ājām al-'ašība* 'Devious ways into the tangled thickets'.

(2) The English lamely follows the rhyming prose of the original at the same level of literary merit. Rhyming prose (see *E.I.* (1), art. 'Sadj^c') is a device often used in solemn discourse; one genre, the *maqāma* (q.v. *E.I.* (1) s.v.) consists of narratives entirely in rhyming prose. 'Flowing zephyrs' is a mixed metaphor which seemed best left as it was.

(3) *G.A.L.* II, 237 and Suppl. lists over sixty commentaries, some of which have in turn attracted glosses and super-commentaries, and it is certain that more remain to be discovered. The work is still popular at the present day, so much so that *agrūmiya* has acquired the meaning

of 'grammar' itself (at least in the Egyptian dialect). In the last century the *Ājurrūmiyya* was transformed into a catechism for use among Christian Arabs (*G.A.L. Suppl. II*, 332).

1.0 (1) Instead of the full phrase 'in the name of God etc.' the word *basmalatun* is used, i.e. the noun of the verb *basmala* 'to say "in the name of God etc."', derived from the characteristic consonants of that expression. Other delocutives are *kabbara* 'to say "allāhu 'akbaru"' ('God is most great'), *sabbaha* 'to say "subhāna llāhi"' ('Glory be to God'), *sallama* 'to say "as-salāmu ^Calaykum"' ('Peace upon you'), and one very important in grammar, *nawwana* 'to pronounce *n* on the end of a word' (from *nūn*, = *n-w-n*, 2.43 n 3, name of letter *n*). In each case the characteristic consonants of a phrase or word have become the radicals of a new verb, cf. Fleisch 247 n 21, Tr. #132.

(2) Cf. *E.I.* (2), art. 'Basmala'. This 'Tradition' (v. 1.01 n 4) does not seem to be findable in Wensinck's *Concordance* (only a similar one in I, 149), though it is mentioned in the same author's *Handlist* 34. In any case aš-Širbīnī's immediate source is al-Azhārī, *Taṣr.* I, 5.

(3) Like many others, aš-Širbīnī wrote a short treatise on this very topic (see *G.A.L. II*, 320). Two problems arise: (a) how is the phrase connected with the following utterance or text, which is solved by treating it as purely 'phatic' and unconnected syntactically with what follows (cf. Petráček, *Ar. Or.* 39. 70), and (b) the status of *bi* 'in, with', which begins the phrase; this is explained as connected with an elided verb such as 'I recite, I declare' or the like.

1.01 (1) This paragraph is quoted by aṣ-Ṣabbān in his *Commentary* on al-Uṣmūnī I, 15, and is the only reference to aš-Širbīnī by a later grammarian that I have so far been able to discover. That of Goguyer, *Qaṭr* 85 n 4, is evidently to Ṣarḥ ṣawāhid al-Qaṭr (0.4 n 6).

(2) The urge to define one's science is a late-comer to grammar, most probably inspired by translations of such works as the *Isagoge* (and cf. Versteegh 130). 'Grammar' renders *naḥw*, lit. 'way, direction, manner', reflecting the original Arab concept of language as a form of behaviour (cf. Carter, *R.E.I.* 40, 81, and contrast Rundgren, *Acta Univ. Upsal.* 2:5, 132). Eventually *naḥw*, while retaining its general meaning of 'grammar', became specifically applied to syntax, with *ṣarf*, lit. 'free currency' (cf. 1.41 n 1) for morphology, q.v. 17.1 n 1.

(3) i.e. the Qur'ān, doctrinally the very words of God revealed to the Prophet Muḥammad, cf. *E.I.* (2), art. 'Qur'ān'.

(4) i.e. the 'Traditions', the collected sayings and actions of the Prophet, and extra-Qur'anic body of religious matter second only to the Qur'ān itself in doctrinal authority, cf. *E.I.* (2), art. 'Ḥadīth'.

1.02 (1) Ibn Hišām (1308-1360, active in Cairo) is possibly the most highly regarded grammarian of all, even being called 'a better grammarian than Sibawayhi'! See *G.A.L.* II, 23, *E.I.* (2), art. 'Ibn Hišām'. Both *Qaṭr* and *Šuḡūr ad-ḡahab* begin with the topic of the word.

(2) Ibn Mālik (1203-1274), born in Spain, active in Damascus, tireless versifier with over 5000 verses to his name (see *Alfiyya* 21.61 n 6). The *Alfiyya* and his advanced *Tashīl* (21.0 n 2) both begin with the topic of speech. See *G.A.L.* I, 298, *E.I.* (2), art. 'Ibn Mālik'.

1.1 (1) *Jum.* 17; *Muf.* #1; *Alf.* v 8; *Qaṭr* 3. These basic linguistic issues are not, of course, raised in Western works dealing specifically with Arabic syntax. 'Speech' renders *kalām* 'talking', which contrasts both with *kalīm* 'words' (cf. 1.16, 1.2) and *qawl* 'dictum, thing said'. Al-Uṣmūnī on *Alf.* 9 sums it up neatly: 'speech (*kalām*), words (*kalīm*) and the individual word (*kalima*) are all something said (*qawl*), but the converse is not so'. Cf. Versteegh 34.

(2) 'Lexical meaning' is *ma^Cnā fī l-luḡa*, lit. 'a meaning in the language' (cf. *luḡa* 'language' denoting 'variant realization', in 21.44 n 1), contrasting with 'technical meaning', *ma^Cnā fī l-iṣṭilāḥ*, lit. 'a meaning by agreement', evidence of the grammarians' realization that grammar had become a *techne* with its own specialist vocabulary (cf. 20.8 n 2).

(3) 'Language of situation' (*lisān al-ḥāl*, lit. 'the tongue of the situation') is probably the same as *nuṣba*, lit. 'signpost', used by Jāḥiẓ (d. 869) in the same context, and allegedly of Aristotelian provenance (see *E.I.* (2), art. 'Bayān', esp. p. 1115a). It must not be confused with 'context of situation', q.v. at 19.8 n 2.

1.11 (1) *lafẓ* '(formal) utterance' is to *kalām* 'speech' what *parole* is to *langage*. Elsewhere *lafẓ* contrasts with *ma^Cnā* 'meaning' (2.1 n 2), *taqdīr* 'implicit form' (2.101 n 1) and *maḥall* 'status' (22.1 n 2); it may also denote 'stem' (3.65 n 9) or 'linguistic form' (17.51 n 1).

(2) In other words, an utterance must consist of recognized phonemes of the language: that orthographical signs (see *E.I.* (2), arts. 'Ḥurūf al-hidjā', 'Abjad') also represent phonemes was taken for granted by the Arab phoneticians (see further 1.16 n 1). Cf. Beeston 16.

1.12 (1) 'Composite' is *murakkab*, also found in the meaning 'compound', q.v. 3.411 n 4, and 'complex', q.v. 9.5. The antonym is *mufrad* 'simple, single, singular', see 23.431 n 1.

1.13 (1) The criterion of informativeness ('*ifāda*, whence *mufīd* 'informative here') is not explicit in early grammar, but became so by the ninth century (cf. Versteegh 34 and earlier instances in al-Mubarrad, *Muqtaḍab* IV, 53, 88, 91, 126, 172, 186, 329). In Sibawayhi's system this aspect of speech was covered by the notion of *istiḡāma*, lit. 'righteousness', i.e. the quality of satisfying the listener's expect-

ations (see n 3 below), cf. Carter, *J.A.O.S.* 93, 149. A connection between *mustaqīm* 'right, correct' and *orthos* is possible, but must date back long before *mustaqīm* was transferred from ethics to grammar (cf. Versteegh 16 n 70 and contrast the obvious literal translation *orthos* = *mustaqīm* in the time of al-Fārābī, id. 64).

(2) See 12.91 n 8 on *yaḥsunu* 'it is good, structurally correct'.

(3) The listener *sāmi*^C or person addressed *muḳāṭab* has from the first been recognized as a determining factor in speech, not only from the point of view of informativeness but also structure (cf. Carter, *J.A.O.S.* 93, 147). The listener is part of the 'context of situation', and he alone determines, for example, the correctness of elisions, e.g. 19.8, and cf. also 9.81-95.

(4) See 20.01 n 1 on this doctrine.

(5) *murakkab 'iḳāfī*, see further 3.65 n 7.

(6) *murakkab mazajī*, see further 3.411 n 5.

(7) *murakkab taqyīdī*; an adjective and the noun it qualifies have always been regarded as a single noun, e.g. *Kitāb* I, 45, 210. See ch. 11 on adjectives

(8) *murakkab 'isnādī*, see further 3.411 n 4.

1.14 (1) Definitions of speech usually say that it is 'informative by convention' or 'informative by intention', but here the two are conflated, and very probably not fully understood: 'convention' is *waḳ*^C, lit. 'deposition' of meaning, a notion which owes much to the Greek *thesis* (cf. Versteegh 139) and is correspondingly lacking in early grammars. 'Intention' is *qaṣd*, on which see 14.4 n 5; it is clearly not a synonym of *waḳ*^C as the commentary implies. Further on *waḳ*^C see Weiss, *Arabica* 23, 23, and cf. 11.81 n 1.

(2) i.e. that only by means of a composite utterance can the intention to inform be carried out: in other words, there can be no topic without comment (cf. 1.13, 20.01 n 1).

1.15 (1) A much earlier formulation of the same idea is *Kitāb* I, 71, which states that if you point to your listener and say 'this is you' the utterance is 'not right' (*lā yastaqīm*, cf. 1.13 n 1), i.e. not informative, as the later grammarians termed it.

1.16 (1) That these are in the strict sense phonemes is implicit in 1.11. As evidence that the grammarians distinguished between phonemes and the simple phonetic value of written symbols consider the following points: allophones have always been recognized, cf. *Kitāb* II, 404 for consonantal allophones and Troupeau, *Lex.-Index*, roots *f-h-m*, *m-y-l* for vocalic allophones; consonants as radicals are distinguished from the same consonants as augments (cf. 5.3 n 1, and see 3.3 for vowels similarly distinguished); names of letters are not confused with their value or function (cf. *Kitāb* II, 61). See also 1.25 nn 2, 3. On the spelling convention *z-y-d* = *zaydun* see 2.12 n 1, 3.5 n 2.

(2) 'Word' *kalima* is not defined by aš-Širbīnī; the minimal free form, however, is subject to the same criteria as any other utterance, i.e. it must occur in a context, be meaningful to the listener and be marked appropriately (see 11.1 n 2 and 2.14 n 2 on utterance-initial and final markers respectively). Thus the 'word' may comprise several morphemes, e.g. *zaydun* = /z-y-d/, /-a--/ (10.37 n 1), /u/ (3.2), /n/ (1.4); cf. 14.53 n 1.

1.2 (1) See 1.23 on the reasons for this. The first to speak of 'subdivisions' rather than 'parts' is apparently az-Zajjājī, in *Jum.* 17 (so al-Azharī, *Āj.* 10). On the tripartite division cf. Versteegh 38.

(2) 'Rational dichotomy' is *qisma* ^C*aqliyya*, variously translated as 'inclusive disjunction', 'exhaustive division' etc., a favourite Greek analytical device, on which see further 3.87 n 2.

1.21 (1) Even at this late date, 'Arabs' always means the idealized desert Arabs who are supposed to have acted as informants for the early grammarians, but see J. Fück, *ʿArabiya*, Berlin 1950, ch. 9.

(2) Abū Zakariyyā al-Farrā', active in Kūfa, died 822 aged 67; along with al-Kisā'ī (18.0 n 2) he is regarded as the leader of the 'Kūfan' school of grammar (9.4 n 3). *G.A.L.* I, 116, *E.I.* (2), art. 'Farrā'.

(3) The 'report' is from al-Azharī, *Taṣr.* I, 25, but seems to have oversimplified the views of al-Farrā'. In *Muḡnī* I, 161, *kallā* is said by al-Farrā' to be equivalent to 'ay 'that is' and *na* ^C*am* 'yes', which seems to mean that he regards it as a particle of strong affirmation.

(4) This method of classification is obviously Greek in origin, but does not appear in Arabic until the 9th century (cf. az-Zajjājī, *Īdāh*, 48, 52, 54, who is undoubtedly drawing on slightly earlier sources such as al-Mubarrad, d. 898, and see Versteegh 54, 70). By the time of az-Zamakhṣarī (d. 1144) it has become thoroughly incorporated into the system, e.g. *Muf.* #2, 402, 497, and cf. 3.87 n 2.

1.22 (1) On predicability as a nominal marker see 1.6. This criterion likewise has probable Greek origins (cf. Versteegh 58, n 29), but is also (pace Versteegh 57) not to be found in the earliest grammar. For Sībawayhi nouns were already sufficiently identified by their form, i.e. by *tanwīn* (1.4). However, by the time of az-Zajjājī, the notion of predicability as a classificatory device is well established, cf. *Īdāh* 42. It is on these grounds, too, that az-Zajjājī concludes that the tripartite division is universal, as discourse can only be composed of subjects, predicates and 'linking words' (*Īdāh* 45).

1.23 (1) This passage is found in al-Astarābādī, *Ṣarḥ al-Kāfiya* (Istanbul 1858), I, 5, as also are the contents of 1.22 above. It is unlikely that aš-Širbīnī took them directly from this source, but neither are they to be found in his usual sources, al-Azharī *Āj.* and *Taṣr.* There are other works by al-Azharī he may have used, or perhaps he has it from al-Uṣmūnī on *Alf.* v 8.

(2) In 1.2 Ibn Ājurūm refers to 'subdivisions' (*'aqsām*, same root as *qisma* 'dichotomy', 1.2 n 2) of speech: as this is a division of the

universal into its particulars, 'aqsām is only 'figuratively' applicable to 'parts' of speech, although it is correctly applied to the subdivisions of the noun and verb listed in 1.24 and of the particle in 1.25. Cf. Versteegh 147 n 121.

1.24 (1) See 11.71 for pronouns, 7.2 n 1 for overt nouns (and cf. 11.61 n 1), and 11.73 for 'vague nouns', i.e. demonstratives.

(2) See 5.01 for past tense, 5.02 for imperfect, 5.03 for imperative.

1.25 (1) This reproduces the earliest description of the *ḥarf* as first defined by Sibawayhi (*Kitāb* I, 2), viz. *ḥarfun jā'a li-ma'nan*, lit. 'a bit which comes for a meaning'. This has given rise to much comment, especially among those who would like to trace it to Greek origins (see Versteegh 43 for summary of opinions). Two points will be made here:

(a) *ḥarf* means exactly what it says, a 'bit' (more technically a 'particle') which is not, morphologically, a noun or verb, and (b) it is meaningful (see next note) but indeterminate in function: such 'meaning' as it has, then, is grammatical rather than lexical, cf. 2.2 nn 5, 6, and Carter *J.A.O.S.* 93, 153 n 49. Other references 1.9 n 2.

(2) '*asmā'un li-ma'nan* 'nouns with meanings': there are no other kinds according to 1.13 (some grammarians do exclude nonsense words such as **dīz*, 'Zayd' backwards), but the phrase is inspired by the definition of the particle above. The 'meanings' of the particle are in effect its grammatical function (see further 1.7 n 1), so that *ḥarf* has a very wide application as a technical term, which one would not readily deduce from *E.I.* (2), art. 'Harf', viz. 'grapheme' (1.11 n 2), 'phoneme' (1.16 n 1), 'consonant' (4.02), 'radical' (17.5), 'morpheme' (5.3, 8.71) and even (though not in our text) 'segment of indeterminate length' (see Weiss, *Z.D.M.G.* 64, 362).

(3) The name of a thing is, of course, a noun (Versteegh 54); in *Kitāb* II, 61, al-*Ḳalīl* catches out students who cannot tell the difference between the phoneme /k/ and the name *kāf* (cf. Eng. /h/ and the word 'aitch' by which it is named).

(4) See 1.52 for *hal*, 1.705 for *fī*, 5.71 for *lam*.

1.3 (1) Apart from the reasons given in 1.22 we may add that the noun has priority because statements may be constructed out of nouns alone (ch. 9), cf. al-Astarābādī, loc. cit. 1.23 n 1.

1.31 (1) *Jum.* 18; *Muf.* #2; *Alf.* v 10; *Qaṭr* 5; Beeston 51; *Fleisch* 37; *Bateson* 9; *Yushmanov* 25. In keeping with the elementary nature of the *ʿAjurrūmiyya* the classification is purely formal. See 19.3, 20.7 on formal categories of nouns, 3.64 n 2 for semantic categories.

(2) See 3.8 n 1 on the term *ḵafḍ* 'obliqueness', translated here as 'oblique form' in the light of aṣ-*Širbīnī*'s explanation. On word-final *i* as obliqueness marker see 3.81; for 'operator' see 2.11. Note that the two operators of obliqueness mentioned here (see 1.7 for particles of obliqueness, 26.7 for annexation) are the only possible operators: in other words, all oblique nouns are the second element of a prepositional phrase or annexation unit (cf. 26.01 n 2).

(3) S. 1 v 1, and at the beginning of almost every other Sura. The expression is referred to as the *basmala*, see 1.0 n 1. For the juncture feature *bi-ismi* > *bismi* see 11.1 n 2, likewise for the same feature in the definite article *al* > *l*. For the assimilation of the article *al* > *ar* see 11.41 n 2. The use of such terms as 'nominality' is another echo of philosophical influence, and as such is not seen before the ninth century (e.g. al-Mubarrad, *Muqtaḍab* III, 309, 313), and see also 11.721 n 4. On the morphological identity of nouns and adjectives see 11.61 n 1.

(4) See 11.01-02 on adjectival concord. The dispute here concerns the question of whether the oblique operator is 'formal' *lafẓī* or 'abstract' *maʿnawī*, q.v. at 2.1, i.e. whether it is the overt element 'by' (which has already made oblique the noun qualified by the two adjectives) or the abstract quality of concordance which makes the two adjectives oblique. A similar dispute occurs in 26.01, and cf. 7.0, 9.11 for other conflicts of opinion over formal and abstract operators.

1.4 (1) *Muf.* #608; *Alf.* v 10; *Qaṭr* 5; Beeston 51; Fleisch 39; Bateson 10; Yushmanov 41. Though often translated as 'nunation', the straight transliteration *tanwīn* is preferred (a) because it is a feature unique to Arabic, synchronically speaking (cf. the preservation of such terms as Umlaut, tilde etc.), and (b) it is no more or less informative than the so-called translation 'nunation'! See 3.87 n 1 for references to Western treatments of the problem as it relates to inflection and definition (and cf. also 1.42, 11.8).

(2) For emphasis see 26.34 n 2. Graphically *tanwīn* is represented by doubling the appropriate vowel marker: since the vowel markers are diacritical the *tanwīn* disappears along with the vowel in pause (see 2.14 n 2). The exception is *tanwīn* with a (dependent form), which is written with a double vowel marker and an 'alif (see 2.43 n 2), hence in pause only the *tanwīn* is lost (and one of the two vowel markers with it), leaving *ā*, i.e. the original *a* and the lengthening marker 'alif.

(3) This is rather slack, since even the *tanwīn* is vocalized in juncture (cf. n 4 below): he evidently wishes to contrast *ḡayf-un* 'guest', where the final *n* is a *tanwīn*, with *ḡayf-an-un* 'parasite', where the first *n*, though a suffix, is not a *tanwīn*.

(4) S. 17 vv 20, 21. See 2.5 n 3 on the clash of two unvowelled consonants and 11.1 n 2 on juncture in general. As *tanwīn* is notated with doubled vowel signs, the extra vowel inserted only in juncture is never written, a rare anomaly in the orthographical system.

(5) S. 96 v 15. The *an* on this verb is written with 'alif, as if it were a nominal inflection (cf. n 2 above); another example 5.32. See 26.34 on the emphatic *n*.

1.41 (1) The terms are *tamakkun* 'establishment', lit. 'being firmly in position', *ʾamkaniyya* 'stability', lit. 'quality of being most firmly in position' (cf. 11.721 n 4 on abstract nouns in *iyya*), *ṣarf* 'currency', lit. 'free circulation (of money)', *munṣarif* 'fully declinable', lit. 'freely circulating'. See further 18.4 n 1, and cf. 3.87.

(2) See 11.7 on definition, 11.8 on indefiniteness.

(3) Lit. the 'lightness' (*kiffa*) of the noun, ultimately phonological in reference (cf. 2.31 n 4 on 'heaviness'), but the boundaries between morphology and syntax are often terminologically vague, cf. 1.5 n 3.

(4) Invariability (*binā'*, lit. 'building' i.e. in a permanent form) is the antonym of '*iCrāb*, 'inflection' (ch.2). But it also has a much wider application, referring to the structure of any word (e.g. the past tense verb, 5.01 n 1, the passive, 8.67 n 1, the short vowels as distinct from inflections, 3.3); in *Kitāb* II, 362 a problem is set in the following words: *ibni lī min al-jiwāri ftaCalū* 'Construct for me from the root j-w-r the verb of the pattern *iftaCalū* (*ibni* 'build!' is cognate with *binā'*). Note that invariability is associated with loss of syntactic freedom (cf. 18.41): in certain constructions there is doubt as to whether the noun ending is a genuine inflection or an invariable ending, q.v. in 22.12, 23.41. Similar vagueness prevails about some verbal endings, e.g. 5.1, 5.2, 5.32.

(5) The defects (*Cilal*, plur. of *Cilla*, cf. *muCtall* in 2.43 n 2) are listed in 3.88, 3.89. It is also possible that *Cilal* here means 'causes', see further 23.62 n 2, 24.22 n 1.

1.42 (1) *tanwīn at-tankīr*, see 11.8 on indefiniteness. It is noteworthy that *tanwīn* is not primarily associated with indefiniteness, but is regarded principally as the marker of the fully established noun: this is not unreasonable in view of the many proper names which have *tanwīn*, e.g. *zaydun* in 1.41. However, Western interpretations, taking as a basis the complementary distribution of *al* 'the' and *tanwīn*, see the latter as an indefiniteness marker, see refs. in 1.4 n 1, and 3.87 n 1 for bibliography relating to *tanwīn* versus partial inflection.

(2) See 8.3 n 2 on 'regularly', *qiyās*.

(3) See 23.411 on *sībawayhi*; 'noun of action' is lit. for *ism al-fiC1*, (cf. 16.1 on *fiC1*), a quasi-imperative which, since it does not take agent suffixes (5.03), is not classified as a verb. It is, of course, an interjection, but what is interesting is that the Arabs could not count such words as 'particles': (lengthy treatment in *Muf.* #187-99).

1.43 (1) *tanwīn al-muqābala*, lit. 'facing *tanwīn*', because it has the same distribution as the *na* of the sound masc. plur. (3.41) in the undefined form, though not in the defined form (compare paradigms at 4.13 n 2, 4.6 n 1). This early example of morphological parallelism (cf. *Kitāb* I, 4) may be a relic of pre-Sībawayhian grammar, which is notably analogical in method (cf. Carter, *R.E.I.* 40, 95 n 1).

1.44 (1) *tanwīn al-Ciwaḍ* (*Ciwaḍ* 'compensation' is originally a term of commercial law relating to defective merchandise). The loss of the defective 3rd radical (2.43 n 2) is purely a phonological event (thus **jawāriyu > jawārin* according to 2.6), not like the loss of a radical in apocope (2.43) or in plurals where there is a limit on the number of consonants (thus *safarjal* 'quince' loses a radical in the plur. *safārij*, and cf. the modern example *'imbarāṭūr* 'emperor', plur.

'*abātira*; see *Kitāb* II, 340). The *tanwīn* is, nevertheless, quite irregular, cf. Fleisch, *Tr.* #102g. On elision (*ḥaḍf*) see 3.73 n 2.

1.441 (1) *Muf.* #204; *Alf.* v 399; Ibn Hišām, *Muḡnī* I, 74; Fleisch 147, 206; Nöldeke 53, 107. Cf. the related elements '*iqā* in 5.94, '*iqan* in 5.43, '*iqmā* in 5.85, the '*iqā* of surprise' in 5.432 n 2.

(2) S. 30 v 4; here *yawma*-'*iqin* may be analysed as 'on the day of' (18.101) and 'the time of it', there being no sentence to which '*iq* is annexed (cf. n 5 below), hence the '*tanwīn* of compensation'.

(3) On Ibn Hišām see 1.02 n 1. The reference in *Muḡnī* I, 170 is only a passing mention (but aš-Širbīnī is here paraphrasing al-Azharī *Taṣr.* I, 35 in any case). The status of *kullun* (13.4) and *baḥḍun* (17.65 n 1) is interesting, especially the former, which has the same syntax as the superlative adjective (cf. 13.4 n 6) on the one hand, but which may also stand alone, with *tanwīn*, in an apparently undefined state ('everything'). Ibn Hišām clearly has reservations about this, and sees *kullun* as a defined expression meaning 'all of it', a view which seems well grounded in spite of the objections raised here. See 26.93 n 1 on complementary distribution of *tanwīn* and annexation.

(4) Sentences by nature carry no inflection markers, though they very often function as inflected elements (e.g. 5.41, and cf. 5.84 n 4).

(5) One problem with '*iq* is that it remains definite when the sentence to which it was annexed is replaced by *tanwīn* (cf. n 2 above), and to this extent Reckendorf's reluctance to accept the ending as a genuine *tanwīn* is justified (5.43 n 3). Certainly the original demonstrative function of '*iq* is not very far below the surface: a verse such as S. 2 v 214, *wa-ḡkurū niḥmata llāhi ḥalaykum 'iq jaḥala fikum ul-'anbiyā'a*, 'remember God's grace to you when he set prophets among you' could easily be read, 'remember God's grace to you: look! he has set prophets among you'. Cf. '*iqā* of surprise' in 5.432 n 2.

1.45 (1) The work is evidently lost; a suitable alternative would be *Muf.* #608 or, since aš-Širbīnī will certainly have copied from it extensively, al-Azharī, *Taṣr.* I, 35-37!

(2) The verses are anonymous and seem to date back no further than al-Azharī (d. 1499), *Taṣr.* I, 37, or as-Suyūṭī (d. 1505), *Ašbāh* II, 108, though aš-Širbīnī's version differs slightly from both.

(3) Type (1) 1.41; type (2) 1.44; type (3) 1.43; type (4) 1.42. Type (5) is inferred by taking *zid* 'increase!' in the verse to mean *ziyāda* 'redundant element' (3.231 n 1), i.e. the rare vocative form *yā maṭarun* O Matar', for *yā maṭaru* (cf. 23.41). Type (6) *tarannum* 'poetic trilling', a nasalizing of the rhyming vowel (q.v. 5.88 n 4), cf. Fleisch, *Tr.* #37e. Type (7) *ḥikāya*, using a fem. word as a man's name and retaining the *tanwīn* which it should have lost by becoming a proper name (3.89 (4)). Normally *ḥikāya* in grammar means 'verbatim quotation', especially when repeating words with the inflection of their original context. Type (8) *iḡtirār*, lit. 'being forced to', adding *tanwīn* to words which should not have it (e.g. *mawāṭiqan* in 13.13). Cf. also

11.715 n 2. Type (9) *ḡuluww*, 'going to extremes', adding a vowel and *n* to the otherwise unvowelled rhyming consonant (q.v. 5.88 n 4). Type (10) after *hamza* (= '), found only with *hā'ulā'i* 'these' and a few other demonstratives which end in ' (11.731, 11.734 etc.), hence *hā'ulā'in*.

1.5 (1) See 11.7 on definition in general, 11.74 on *al* in particular, where also main bibliographical references; for assimilation of *l* to following apicals see 11.41 n 2, and for elision of *a* in juncture see 11.1 n 2; on the name '*alif-lām* for the article see 11.74 n 2.

(2) See 1.51 for the relative *al*, 1.52 for interrogative *al*.

(3) Note that 'substituted' (*badaluhā*) here uses in a morphological context the term more commonly associated with substitution at the syntactical level (ch.14): as has been remarked before (1.41 n 4), from phonology through morphology to syntax is a continuum.

(4) This is evidently a Yemeni feature, cf. Rabin, *Anc. West-Ar.* 34, 50, 205 (where further examples), Cantineau, *Études* 51, Fleisch, *Tr.* #75b. See Wensinck, *Concordance* III, 461 for this 'Tradition' (cf. 1.01 n 4), which is unusual in that it occurs only in the collection of Aḥmad ibn Ḥanbal (d. 855, v. *E.I.* (2) s.v., *G.A.S.* I, 502).

1.51 (1) It is not usual for aṣ-Širbīnī to give such circumstantial details about the poems from which he quotes: the reason why he does so here is undoubtedly because he is only reproducing al-Azharī, *Taṣr.* I, 38. For the poet Farazdaq (d. 728-30) see *G.A.L.* I, 53, *G.A.S.* II, 359, *E.I.* (2), art. 'al-Farazdaq'.

(2) *Schaw.Ind.* 205 (add *Inṣāf* 212, al-Azharī, *Taṣr.* I, 38). Though historically both the definite article *al* and the relative pronoun *allaḡī* (11.753) are related (as ancient demonstratives), they were syntactically far enough apart for this licence of Farazdaq's to outrage the purists. The combination *at-turḡā* (for *al-turḡā*, see 11.41 n 2) is equivalent to *allaḡī turḡā* 'whose (judgement) is accepted' or *al-marḡiyyu* 'the accepted (of judgement)' (see 26.92 on the syntax of the latter paraphrase). Cf. Reckendorf, *Ar. Synt.* 426.

(3) In *Alf.* v 98. See 1.02 n 2 on Ibn Mālik.

(4) The work is lost, but cf. al-Azharī, *Taṣr.* I, 38.

1.52 (1) This is nothing more than a variant of *hal* (see 5.741 n 1) showing the rare change *h > '* , attested also in the prefix of the Stem IV verb '*a* (cognate with *ha*, cf. 5.21 n 1, and cf. the noun '*āl*, from '*ahl*, both meaning 'family'). The reverse shift is also recorded: the variants *hin* and *la-hinna* exist for '*in* 'if' and *la-'inna* 'verily', (cf. Weil, *Zeitschr. für Assyriologie* 19, 21).

(2) Quṭrub, d. 821, is known principally as a collector of lexical material, with an interest in morphology, and is said to have been one of the few pupils of Sībawayhi (*G.A.L.* I, 102, *E.I.* (2), art. 'Quṭrub'). If S.Fraenkel, *Die aramäischen Fremdwörter im Arabischen*, Leiden 1886, 286, is to be believed, the word *quṭrub* 'demon, puppy etc.' is an

adaptation of the Greek *kynanthropos*.

1.53 (1) See 11.81 n 1 on proper names without *al*. It is worth noting that proper names without *al* nevertheless acquire the definite article when dualized or pluralized (examples in 3.41, 3.64). Such duals and plurals are, however, rather artificial (mostly grammarians' fictions, in fact), as there is an inherent incongruity between dual/plural and words intrinsically denoting specific individuals (for similar reasons duals and plurals are rare in the vocative, v. 23.421). Cf. 3.65 n 8.

1.6 (1) Cf. 1.22 on predicability, also *Muf.* #2; *Alf.* v 10, *Qaṭr* 5, and ch. 9 on equational sentence structure (9.0 n 1 on the term '*isnād* 'predication' in particular). On other noun markers see 1.8 n 1. The omission by Ibn Ājurrūm of these 'abstract' markers (cf. 2.1 on *maḥnawī* 'abstract') is only to be expected in view of his purely 'formal' presentation.

(2) The Arabic has only *t*, which can be vocalized *tu*, *ta*, *tī*, i.e. as 1st or 2nd (masc. and fem.) sing., cf. 5.1 n 5 (similar case: 4.81 n 1).

(3) All verbs are predicates of their agents, see 3.73 n 5.

(4) See 10.37 n 1 on the pattern system.

(5) The examples here are simply grammarians' metalanguage (which is not always so easy to discern in a script which has neither capitals nor italics!). Nöldeke 64 has an interesting anthology of examples from literature. The problem was noticed very early (see *Kitāb* II, 31-36), and two illustrations will suffice to show how nominal markers could even be attached to sentences: *al-qāla wa-l-qīla* 'malicious talk', lit. 'the he said and the it was said', *min šubba 'ilā dubba* 'from youth to old age', lit. 'from it was youthful to it was crept around with a walking stick' (note impersonal passives, 8.11 n 1).

1.7 (1) See *Muf.* #498; *Alf.* v 364; *Qaṭr* 279 on particles in general. Here we quote from Bateson 37-38 by way of summary of points made elsewhere (refs. in brackets): 'Membership of the class of particles (1.25 n 1) is, on the one hand, a matter of function (1.25 n 2), since the particles are the words which do much of the grammatical work (3.84 n 3) of the sentence; on the other hand, although ties with the root system are discernible (21.5 n 1), particles are words which do not have true roots (26.26 n 1) or true patterns (10.37 n 1) and are not included in the two inflectional systems (1.41 n 4)'.

(2) A fifth, predicability, has already been dealt with in 1.6. There are others, viz. pronominalization and collocation with the vocative particle *yā* 'O', see further 1.8 n 1. The reason why they are omitted here is that aš-Širbīnī is simply copying al-Azharī, *Āj.* 14.

(3) Note the attention to distributional factors. On absolute coordination see 12.1.

(4) So it appears to al-Azharī, whom aš-Širbīnī is quoting here (*Āj.* 14), because the particles are not due to be dealt with until 1.9.

(5) Omitted are *ḥattā* (26.31), *la* (23.21 n 2), *wa* meaning *rubba* (26.61), *ḥāṣṣā* etc. (26.1), *muḍ* and *munḡu* (26.62), and some rare ones in 26.1.

1.701 (1) The spelling instructions (3.44 n 2) are to avoid confusion with *man* 'who' (5.83). *Muf.* #499; *Alf.* v 369; Ibn Hišām, *Muḡnī* II, 14; Nöldeke 52; other functions of *min*: partitive 9.03 n 4, explanatory 5.82 n 3; comparative 20.42 n 2; causative 24.55 n 2; see also 26.21; *min* was formerly a noun meaning 'part' (Brockelmann, *Grundr.* II, 117).

(2) 'Senses' renders *maCānī*, lit. 'meanings' as understood in 1.25 (and cf. 1.7 n 1), and is only preferred here over 'meanings' because the latter has too lexical a flavour. 'Semantic function' (2.2) has also been used for *maCnā*, but seemed too ponderous for this context.

(3) On the semi-declinable *sulaymāna* cf. 3.89 (7).

1.702 (1) *Muf.* #500; *Alf.* v 371; Ibn Hišām, *Muḡnī* I, 70; Nöldeke 54; see further 26.22. The final *ā* of '*ilā*' is actually spelt *ay*, and is so pronounced before suffixes (e.g. '*ilayka* 1.709). On the strength of this Rabin (*Anc. West-Ar.* 117) has speculated about the existence of a phoneme *ē* (cf. Fleisch, *Tr.* #71). The so-called '*alif maqṣūra* 'shortened *ā* ' is related, cf. 3.89 n 2. See 9.4 n 3 on *Kūfa*.

1.703 (1) *Muf.* #508; *Alf.* v 374; Ibn Hišām, *Muḡnī* I, 129; see also 26.23. The attempt to characterize the 'meanings' of *Can* in a single term is particularly unhelpful here: it may better be summed up as denoting a literal or figurative movement away from something, e.g. *safartu Can il-baladi* 'I travelled away from the country', '*aṭCamtuhu Can jūCin* ' I fed him in his hunger' (examples from Lane s.v.).

1.704 (1) *Muf.* #507; *Alf.* v 375; Ibn Hišām, *Muḡnī* I, 125; see also 26.24. The final *ā* is of the same nature as that of '*ilā*', 1.702 n 1. See 14.2 n 2 for an idiomatic use of '*alā*' and *li* (1.709).

(2) S. 55 v 26; it had become, at least by the time of Ibn Fāris (d. 1004), an affectation to verify each point of grammar with Qur'anic quotations. Cf. 12.911 n 2 on 'perceptibly' and 'abstractly'.

(3) S. 2 v 253; similar example 26.1. Cf. 17.65 n 1 on *baCq* 'some'.

1.705 (1) *Muf.* #502; *Alf.* v 373; Ibn Hišām, *Muḡnī* I, 144; see also 26.25.

(2) 'Being contained in space or time' is an explanatory translation of the single word *ḡarf*, lit. 'vessel, container', and used as the technical term for space and time qualifiers (v. ch. 18). It has been suggested that this term is borrowed from Greek *angeion* (see Versteegh, 8, for a review of this theory), but no-one has yet been able to demonstrate precisely how such a notion was transmitted from Greek to Arabic, presumably well before the time of Sībawayhi.

(3) S. 2 v 187. Note that, like all semi-declinable nouns, *al-masājidi* is regular when formally defined (cf. 3.89 n 12).

(4) S. 2 v 203.

1.706 (1) *Muf.* #505; *Alf.* vv 366, 368; Ibn Hišām, *Muġnī* I, 118; see also 26.33. This word has contrary meanings (see further 26.33 n 1), and it was also disputed whether it was a particle ('Başrans') or noun ('Kūfans', v. 9.4 n 3), see *Inşāf*, Suppl. prob. 3. The spelling instructions (3.44 n 2) are to avoid confusion with *rabbun* 'lord'.

(2) *Schaw. Ind.* 262. The late grammarians had an enormous stock of evidentiary verses to draw upon, and did not always quote them in illustration of the same grammatical point as they were first used to prove. This one is a good example, since it was originally produced (*Kitāb* I, 341, II, 258) as evidence for the form *yalda* (from *yaliḍ*, with loss of unstressed *i* and addition of final *a*, probably for metrical reasons; cf. 5.02 n 4 on *yaliḍ*). Sībawayhi does not use this verse as evidence for the function of *rubba*, and indeed, on one of the occasions quotes it in a form which does not even begin with *rubba*.

1.707 (1) *Muf.* #503; *Alf.* vv 371, 374; Ibn Hišām, *Muġnī* I, 95; Nöldeke 55, and see also 26.26, 26.4. The challenge to sum up the wide range of meanings of this particle in one word (cf. 1.703) leads to the choice of 'assistance' (*istiḥāna*, lit. 'seeking help'), a not very helpful attempt to combine the notions of 'with, in, at, by' which are some of the possible 'translations' of *bī*. For *bī* in oaths see 1.712.

(2) Spelling instructions distinguish *bī* from four otherwise identical letters *t*, *ṭ*, *n*, *y* (cf. 3.44 n 2). Note that the particles have been deliberately presented in order first of those which are independent words (orthographically) followed by those which, since they consist of only one letter, are always written as prefixes (cf. Beeston 28, 30).

1.708 (1) *Muf.* #509; *Alf.* v 377; Ibn Hišām, *Muġnī* I, 151; see also 26.31, 26.4. According to Brockelmann, *Grundr.* II, 389, *ka* is related to *kam* 'how much/many' (q.v. at 20.6 n 2).

(2) The article in *al-'asadi* 'the lion' is generic (11.741), hence the translation 'a lion', but cf. 10.44.

1.709 (1) *Muf.* #504; *Alf.* v 372; Ibn Hišām, *Muġnī* I, 175; Nöldeke 50; see also 26.27, 26.4 26.71.

(2) S. 16 v 44, lacking the usual introductory formula. The *li* prefixed to the verb might seem to us more 'causative' (cf. 5.51) than the second *li*, but cf. the explanation of *lakum* 'for you' in 24.51.

1.71 (1) *Jum.* 82; *Muf.* #506; *Alf.* v 365; *Qaṭr* 282; for other forms of oaths cf. 9.92; emphatic form of verb in oaths 26.34 n 2.

(2) Here the spelling instruction (3.44 n 2) distinguishes *qasam* '(the swearing of an) oath' from *qism* 'section, division'.

1.711 (1) Refs. as in 1.71 n 1. The origins of this element are still obscure, and the thorough investigation by Fischer, *Islam* 28, 1-105 (!) comes to no firm conclusion.

(2) S. 53 v 1. The star in question is the Pleiades group, the common noun 'star' having become a proper noun by 'usage predominating' (3.65

n 12), though some say it is merely a generic article (11.741).

1.712 (1) Refs. as for 1.71 n 1. See also 26.5. Note that when an overt verb (invariably 'uḡsimu 'I swear') occurs, only *bi* may follow. Conversely there are a few forms of oath apparently without any introductory particle, e.g. *lāhi* 'by God!', *al-ka^Cbatī* 'by the Kaaba!', though here it is reasonable to assume that one has been elided by frequency of use (see the collection by Fischer, ref. in 1.711 n 1).

1.713 (1) Refs. as for 1.71 n 1. See also 26.34. We are on safer ground regarding the origins of this particle: it is quite probably the remnant of some previous word, e.g. '*amānata llāhi* 'by God's safe-keeping!' or *bayta llāhi* 'by God's house!' (so Fischer, loc. cit. 27-30).

(2) The spelling instruction is necessary here to distinguish *ta* from *yā*, which is indeed found as a vocative with the name of God, viz. *yā llāhu* 'O God!' (q.v. at 23.21).

(3) This specimen of 'rational dichotomy' (1.2 n 2) is mere pedagogical reinforcement: it has no bearing on the possible historical order of the three particles.

1.8 (1) Two markers may be mentioned here as they are not dealt with systematically by aṣ-Širbīnī: (a) pronominalization, which is invoked in 5.83, cf. n 5; (b) collocation with the vocative particle *yā* (q.v. in ch. 23), a marker which is acknowledged somewhat haphazardly by the grammarians (thus Ibn Mālik includes it in his definition of the noun, *Alf.* v 10, but not az-Zamaḡṣarī or Ibn Hišām). An interesting, but isolated criterion is offered by *Jum.* 17: a noun is that which can be an agent (*fā^Cil*) or patient (*ma^Cūl*), cf. Versteegh 59 for discussion and alternative sources in az-Zajjājī.

(2) See 16.1 n 1 on 'verb' (the spelling instruction excludes *fa^Cl*, 'doing, being active').

1.81 (1) Beeston 78 relates the function of this particle to the dynamic or static aspect of the verb: thus a dynamic action such as *ʿalimtu* 'I came to know, realized' becomes static with *qad*, viz. 'I knew (already)', and, with imperfect tense forms, a static action such as *yaqūmu* 'he (always) stands' becomes potentially dynamic, viz. 'he might well, actually does stand'. Cf. Nöldeke 70.

(2) The two are doubtless cognate, though a plausible etymology is lacking (cf. Bloch, *Anthropos* 41-44, 723, Reckendorf, *Synt. Verh.* 296).

(3) See 20.6 n 2 for an alternative construction with *qad*.

1.82 (1) *Muf.* #578; Beeston 79; Fleisch 113. In *Inṣāf*, prob. 92, the 'Baṣrans' (9.4 n 3) argue that *sa* is a particle in its own right, while the 'Kūfans' sensibly claim that it is an abbreviation of *sawfa*. Brockelmann, *Grundr.* I, 466, sides with the Kūfans, and equates *sawfa* with similar time qualifiers such as *bukrata* 'tomorrow' (18.104), in the meaning of 'eventually, in the end'. Note that *sa*, being a one-letter element, is cited by the name of that letter, viz. *sīn* (cf.

other examples 1.707-13, 5.51).

1.83 (1) *Jum.* 286; *Muf.* #607; *Alf.* v 11; *Qaṭr* 14; 7.26-28; 4.13 n 5. The whole paragraph is repeated with minor modifications in 5.01, and may be from the lost *Qaṭr* Commentary (0.4 n 6). For Ibn Mālik this *t* extends to cover the *tu*, *ta*, *ti* of the 1st and 2nd (masc. and fem.) sing. (cf. 1.6 n 2), so that his definition of the verb is implicitly 'that which takes agent suffixes', though strictly speaking the fem. sing. *at* is not an agent suffix (see 7.28 n 1).

(2) See 11.42 n 1 on fem. markers in nouns.

(3) There are some seventy variants of *rubba* according to Lane, which are arrived at by the (random?) permutation of the possible vowels, suffixes (*at*, *ata*, with or without a suffixed *mā*) and single or double *b*. Of *ḥumma* only the variants given here seem to exist, to which should be added the interesting forms *fumma*, *fummata* (Cantineau, *Études* 41). The *ta* suffix has been investigated by Aartun, *Bib. Or.* 28, 126, as a feature denoting emphasis in such words as *lāta* 'not' (cf. 5.76 n 1), and cf. Fleisch, *Tr.* #115u, 143g.

(4) Cf. 1.41 n 4 on invariability, and cf. the phrase *lā ḥawla wa-lā quwwata* '(there is) no power and no might', quoted in 5.01, parsed in 22.4

1.9 (1) Summarized in *Muf.* #402, *Alf.* v 11. Verbs in general: ch. 5; agents ch. 7; passive ch. 8; objects and other qualifiers ch. 15; paradigms chs. 4, 8 *passim*.

(2) See 1.25, 1.7. *Jum.* 17; *Muf.* #497; *Alf.* v 12; *Qaṭr* 25; Fleisch 154; Bateson 37; Yushmanov 61; Versteegh, index (*ḥarf*).

1.91 (1) See next note on zero-marker. On 'improper', *lā yaṣluḥu*, see 11.82 n 2. In *E.I.* (2), art. 'Ḥarf', Fleisch speculates that *ḥarf* is equivalent to *horos*, and was so named because, by enunciating slowly, the grammarians determined the 'limits' of a sound, i.e. a syllable. Particles were given the name *ḥarf/horos* because many of them are mono-syllabic. This all seems most unlikely, cf. 1.25 n 2.

1.92 (1) This negative definition of the particle reinforces what was said in 1.25 n 1 and 1.7 n 1: for this reason particles are often identified by their function (e.g. 5.74 n 3), and it is extremely significant that, when the 'meanings' (1.701 n 2) of particles are given, they are always expressed in the form of verbal nouns, i.e. of grammatical 'actions' (=functions), e.g. 'making partitive', 'asking a question', 'negating' etc. etc.

Zero is a well-recognized element in Arabic grammatical analysis: there are zero morphemes (cf. inflection of agent pronouns, 7.52-57, agent pronouns 'concealed' in the verb, 7.58-59, 7.8), and there are zero operators (cf. independent form of the verb, 5.33, equational sentence structure, 9.01). See further 5.34 n 1.

(2) The immediate source for this assertion is al-Azharī, *Āj.* 18, but

it has not been possible to trace it in the major works of Ibn Mālik (on whom see 1.02 n 2).

2.0 (1) 'Inflection' is necessarily an approximate translation of the term '*iCrāb*: originally it denoted the (orthographical?) insertion of vowels, contrasting with '*iCjām*, the addition of diacritical points to distinguish otherwise identical letters (cf. *E.I.* (2), art. '*Khatt*', on origins of Arabic script). There is a long-standing, but unproven view that '*iCrāb* is a calque of the Greek term *hellenismos*, which, however, cannot account for their different technical meanings, nor for the term '*iCjām*, which is the literal antonym of '*iCrāb* and means 'making something foreign' (*barbarismos*!?) evidently referring to the fact that the diacritical point system was modelled on Syriac (cf. K. Semaan, *Linguistics in the Middle Ages*, Leiden 1968, 12). Greek influence is strongly argued by Versteegh, 61.

2.1 (1) *Jum.* 18, 260; *Muf.* #15; *Alf.* v 15; *Qaṭr* 35; Beeston 53; Fleisch 165, *Tr.* #54a; Yushmanov 41; Bateson 9, 25; *E.I.* (1) & (2), art. '*iCrāb*', Drozdik, *J.M.S.* 5, 71. For '*iCrāb* in the sense of 'parsing' see 8.21 n 1. The antithesis of '*iCrāb* is *binā*', 'invariability', see 1.41 n 4. Note that verbal as well as nominal 'inflections' are covered by the term '*iCrāb* (2.2). For 'operator', *Cāmil*, see 2.11.

(2) 'Abstract' and 'formal' render *maCnawī* and *lafẓī* respectively. The latter term relates to *lafẓ* 'formal utterance' in 1.11, and see 2.101; *maCnawī* relates to *maCnā* 'meaning' in 1.25 but, under philosophical influence, came to be used predominantly for 'abstract, conceptual, ideal'. In 12.911 it is contrasted with *ḥissī* 'tangible, perceptible'.

(3) Particles are by nature uninflected, cf. 1.41.

(4) For these two *n* suffixes see 3.241 n 1 and 3.241 n 2 respectively.

2.101 (1) Much paper has been consumed because of these two terms: *lafẓan*, lit. 'as a formal utterance' (1.11) creates little difficulty, but *taqdīran*, lit. 'by estimation', is tantamount to 'according to what the grammarian thinks he can see below the surface structure' (examples 5.411, 8.2, 9.74, 10.23, 11.8, 18.1, 20.23). Cf. Baalbaki, *Z.A.L.* 2, 7.

(2) On allomorphs cf. 3.0 n 3; vowellessness as an inflection 3.91 n 1.

(3) On *al-fatā* see 2.5; on *al-muslimūna* see 3.42 n 2.

(4) S. 3 v 186. In his *Qur'ān Commentary*, I, 259, aš-Širbīnī shows

that *tublawūna* 'you are tested' with the emphatic suffix *anna* (q.v. at 3.241 n 2) reduces to *tublawunna* to avoid (a) the succession of 3 *n*'s (cf. 10.55 n 3) and (b) the over-long syllable *wūn* (cf. 2.5 n 3).

2.11 (1) Every inflected element is a member of a binary unit which consists of an 'operator' (*ʿāmil*) and an 'element operated on' (*maʿmūl fīhi*), the only exceptions being those elements which have been 'neutralized' (*mulḡā*, cf. 5.431 n 3). This was the original concept as found in the *Kitāb* (cf. Carter, *J.A.O.S.* 93, 151, and 3.84 n 3), but all too often such inept Latinisms as 'governing word', 'régime' etc. occur as translations (in spite of an article by J. Weiss, *Z.D.M.G.* 64, 349, published in 1910). Even Arab grammarians unconsciously use the same metaphor: Ibn Hišām (*Qaṭr* 240) speaks of *tasalluṭu l-ʿāmil*, 'the authority of the operator' (cf. 18.1 n 2).

(2) Verb and agent ch. 7; verb and direct object ch. 16; *ka* 1.708; equational sentence ch. 9; zero-operator 5.34 n 1.

2.12 (1) Orthographically the *un* of *zaydun* is a diacritical mark (cf. 1.4), hence *d* is the last letter of the word. We are close here to the notion of a stem (cf. 3.65 n 9).

(2) Cf. 3.42 n 1; though certainly an originally biliteral root, *yadun* must conform to the Arab notion that it has lost its third radical, hence the *d* is only figuratively (*majāzan*, 13.3 n 1) its last letter.

2.13 (1) In other words Arabic syntactical analysis recognizes inversion, called *taqdīm wa-ta'kīr*, lit. 'advancing and retarding' (cf. examples in 9.8, 19.73, 20.7). The problem is not only one of word order, but of how much an element may operate retro-actively, as normal operation (*ʿamal*, cf. 2.11 n 1) is upon the following element.

2.14 (1) See 1.41 on fully established nouns; 5.02 on imperfect tense verb inflection.

(2) The 'pausal form' occurs, as its name implies, before a pause (*waqf*, lit. 'stopping'), which may be utterance-final, or simply for breath or for rhetorical reasons. The main rules are: (a) final short vowels are dropped (inc. *tanwīn*), e.g. *zaydun* → *zayd*. (b) dep. *tanwīn* (an, 1.4 n 5) becomes *ā*, e.g. *zaydan* → *zaydā*. (c) fem. suffix *at* becomes *ah*, e.g. *makkatu* → *makkah* (see 11.42 n 1). All words in Arabic are spelt in pausal form (i.e. as if isolated, cf. 11.1 n 2), which Rabin, *Stud. Isl.* 4, 26, ascribes to slow dictation. *Muf.* #640; *Alf.* v 881; Beeston 21; Fleisch 28; Bateson 8; Yushmanov 15.

(3) i.e. language can only be analysed in the context of utterances.

(4) The resemblance to the Latin 'casus' metaphor is quite fortuitous: under legal influences the Arabs introduced their own notions of a hierarchy of elements (cf. 11.711 n 2).

2.15 (1) This obscure comment stems from the fact that *iʿrāb* may be understood in two different ways, (a) as a process of change in word endings (thus 'abstract'), or (b) as a set of morphemes (thus 'formal'). Aṣ-Širbīnī's point (elaborated from al-Azhari, *Āj.* 22) is that if we

treat inflection as a process we should not then speak of 'types' ('anwā^C) or 'subdivisions' ('aqsām, cf. 1.2) unless metaphorically. Note that there was no specific term for 'case' in the earliest grammar, and see further 11.02 n 1.

2.2 (1) The names and functions of the cases/moods are dealt with in ch. 3, esp. 3.1, 3.5, 3.8, 3.9.

(2) Common only to nouns and imperfect tense verbs. The latter, on account of certain functional resemblances to the noun, are called *muḍāri^C*, lit. 'similar' (see 5.02), always rendered 'imperfect tense'.

(3) Contrast the word order here with that of the normal verbal sentence (see 7.12). For zero-operator see 5.34 n 1.

(4) For 'inna see 10.4; for lan 5.42.

(5) The text says *yaḵtaṣṣu bi-ma^Cnan bi-smin*, lit. 'is peculiar to a meaning in a noun'. This cannot refer to lexical meaning, but is best interpreted in the light of the use of the term *ma^Cnā* to define the particle (1.25), namely as referring to grammatical functions. We may then paraphrase *ma^Cnā* as 'the ability of nouns to stand in certain semantic relationships with other elements', such as subject, agent, possessor etc. See next note.

(6) By the same token (n 5 above) verbs have the ability to stand in certain semantic relationships with other elements, such as combining with *lam* to indicate a non-event (5.71) or being the condition for another event (5.8), both marked by the apocopated form. See 2.34 and 2.44 for Arab views on the fact that nouns and verbs do not completely overlap in their inflection.

2.3 (1) *Jum.* 18, 260; *Muf.* #16; *Alf.* v 15; *Qaṭr* 35; Beeston 51; *Fleisch* 37; Bateson 9; Yushmanov 41.

2.31 (1) Though stated here as a phonological problem (see subsequent notes for details) the etymological reasons are given later in 2.5 and 2.6. From the spectator's point of view the weak radicals *w* and *y* are constantly engaged in a struggle between the demands of morphology and phonology, usually involving compromises on the morphological side. The topic has never been explored, but *Fleisch*, *Tr.* #24d n 1, makes a tantalizing reference to it. For the matter as a whole see *Muf.* #697.

(2) The *u* is final because the *n* of *tanwīn* (1.4), like the defining prefix *a^l* (1.5) with which it is in complementary distribution, are not part of the case inflection system.

(3) 'Impossibility of realization' renders *ta^Caḡḡur*, lit. 'extreme difficulty, impossibility', viz. of the long diphthongs *āu, *āi, and an overlong *āa. These are reduced to ā both on nouns, as here, and on verbs, e.g. *yaḵṣā*, q.v. in 2.41.

(4) 'Phonetic inconvenience' renders *istiḡḡāl*, lit. 'regarding as too heavy', viz. the non-canonical sequences *iyu, *iyi, *iwu, *iwi (cf. 2.6 n 1), which are always reduced to ī. The role of ease of

articulation in producing phonological changes has been recognized in Arabic grammar from the very beginning, cf. Troupeau, *Lexique-Index*, under *t-q-l*, *h-f-f*, *c-d-r*.

2.32 (1) Note that the word *qāḍī* is omitted from the examples here. This is because the dep. forms of *qāḍī* are completely regular, viz. *qāḍiyan*, *al-qāḍiya*, as there is no 'phonetic inconvenience' in the sequence *iya*. The same applies to verbs, see 2.42 n 1.

2.33 (1) Thus **al-qāḍiyyi* is reduced to *al-qāḍī* (= *al-qāḍiy*) as in 2.31 n 4. The grammarians offer long and detailed explanations of this and related phenomena (e.g. 8.2 n 5), but it can never be assumed that the phonological changes described correspond to any actual historical developments. Indeed it is more likely that the Arabs had no intention of offering other than a synchronic analysis: in other words, the changes are not the result of a long process but happen almost instantaneously with each new occurrence of the word.

2.34 (1) There are various theories as to why apocopation is not found in nouns (and cf. 2.44 for the problem of why verbs do not have an oblique form). The purely formal explanation of Sībawayhi is that, since nouns must bear the suffix *n* of *tanwīn* (1.4) there must be an intervening vowel between the last radical and the *n* (because there cannot be two consonants at the end of a syllable, 2.5 n 3). He also argues that, since verbs are morphologically more cumbersome ('*aṭṭal*', related to *istiṭqāl* in 2.31 n 4), they may have subtractive endings (*Kitāb* I, 2 and 6 respectively). Another theory, ascribed to the 'Kūfans' (9.4 n 3), is that nouns cannot be operated on by apocopating elements because these denote negation, prohibition, condition, the giving of orders etc., which are not qualities proper to nouns (*az-Zajjājī*, *Idāh*, 106, and cf. 2.2 nn 5, 6).

2.4 (1) *Jum.* 22; *Muf.* #404; *Alf.* v 677; *Qaṭr* 21; Beeston 83; *Fleisch* 106; *Yushmanov* 52; *Bateson* 25. See 5.02.

2.41 (1) This is an example of a so-called 'hollow verb', i.e. one whose middle radical is *w* or *y* (see 10.23 n 2), but the indep. ending *u* is unaffected by this.

(2) The weak 3rd rad. verbs on the whole follow the same principles as the nouns in reducing non-canonical sequences (cf. 2.31 nn 3, 4). Thus the three typical verbs in this class behave as follows: **yarmiyyu* > *yarmi*, **yaḡzuwu* > *yaḡzū*, **yaḡṣayū* > *yaḡṣā*. Paradigms 4.81 n 2.

2.42 (1) On *lan* see 5.42. Note that *yaḡṣā*, like *al-fatā* (2.7) is virtually invariable (except for its apocopated form, 2.43). The other weak 3rd rad. verbs are not mentioned here because they are quite regular, as no non-canonical sequences are generated, thus *yarmiyya*, *yaḡzuwa* (the 'five verbs' (3.45) set of the weak 3rd rad. verbs are also regular in that they elide the final *n* for their dep. and apocopated forms, cf. paradigms at 4.82 n 1 and 3.92 n 1).

2.43 (1) See 3.9 on 'apocopation'. Regular paradigm 4.82 n 2.

(2) Consonants are either 'sound' (*ṣaḥīḥ*, lit. 'healthy') or else

'defective' (*mu^Ctall*, lit. 'ailing', v. 23.62 n 2). All consonants are 'sound' except the semi-vowels *w* and *y* and the consonant known as 'alif which is realized as a glottal stop but also acts as lengthening marker for *ā* (historically some cases of *ā* were originally *a'*, from which the function of ' as a lengthening marker was undoubtedly generalized; cf. Beeston 26). The prosodic structure of Arabic is very limited: it comprises only the short syllable CV, the long closed syllable CVC (e.g. *man* 'who'), the long open syllable C \bar{V} (e.g. *fī* 'in') and a highly restricted over-long syllable C \bar{V} C (q.v. 21.22 n 4). Both CVC and C \bar{V} are prosodically identical (*fī* = *fiy*) because the lengthening marker is a (weak) consonant: hence shortening a long vowel is orthographically the same as removing the final consonant of a closed syllable and both processes are termed *ḥaḍf* 'elision' (3.9 n 2). For general references to syllable structure see 2.5 n 3. Note variable transcription of weak consonants: ', *w*, *y* when consonantal, *ā*, *ū*, *ī* when vowel lengtheners, *aw*, *ay* when diphthongs, as the context requires (cf. 3.5 n 2).

2.44 (1) According to az-Zajjājī, *Īdāh* 107 (based on *Kitāb* I, 2) verbs have no oblique form because oblique elements are in complementary distribution with *tanwīn* (see 26.93 n 1) and verbs do not have *tanwīn*. It is also argued that elements cannot be annexed to verbs: this is not refuted by such structures as *yawma jā'a* 'on the day he came' because, as az-Zajjājī (loc. cit. 112) points out, the space/time qualifier here is annexed to a sentence (cf. 1.441 n 2).

2.45 (1) Another example of the 'rational dichotomy' (1.2 n 2) which is so prominent in pedagogical grammars, where it functions more as a mnemonic device than an analytical tool. In the long history of Arabic grammar the genuine elementary textbook (i.e. aimed principally at children) does not emerge until relatively late, perhaps no earlier than the eleventh century, with such works as the *Mi'at Cāmil* ('The Hundred Operators') of al-Jurjānī (d. 1078) and the *Unmūḍaj* ('The Model') of az-Zamaḡṣarī (d. 1144). By the thirteenth century, however, when all debate over the subject-matter of grammar textbooks was ended (in other words, when the community had settled upon its concept of the ideal language), pedagogical grammars begin to appear in greater numbers, e.g. the *Miṣbāḥ* ('The Lamp') of al-Muṭarrizī (d. 1213) and the *Kāfiya* ('The Adequate') of Ibn al-Ḥāḍib (d. 1249). Once the contents of Arabic grammar had been established, only the form left any opportunities for innovation, and from the twelfth century (and probably earlier) grammatical textbooks begin to appear in verse. By far the most famous of these versified grammars is the *Alfiyya* of Ibn Mālik (see 21.61 n 6); the use of poetry as a teaching medium has continued into the twentieth century, in other subjects besides grammar.

2.5 (1) Apart from the special case of the 'five nouns' (3.42) and some foreign words (see 3.422 n 1 for examples), there are no nouns whose singular ends in *ū*.

(2) For the significance of 'elided' (*maḥqūfa*) in this context see

3.9 n 2, and below, n 3.

(3) 'The clash of two unvowelled consonants' translates *iltiqā'* *as-sākinayn*, lit. 'the meeting of two unvowelled letters' (see 4.01 n 1 on *sākin* 'unvowelled', lit. 'not moving', from *sukūn* 'vowellessness, motionlessness'). The avoidance of this particular collocation is the reason for many phonological intrusions into the regular patterns generated by the morphology (cf. 2.31). Briefly, no syllable may either begin (11.1 n 2) or end with two consonants (except in 'doubled verbs', 21.22 n 4, and pausal forms, 2.14 n 2, examples in 4.13 n 2, 4.5 n 1, 4.6 n 1). When *fatā* (= **fatayu*, 2.31 n 3) acquires *tanwīn* an assumed form **fatayn* is generated, which is reduced to *fatan* for the reason given, because **fatayn* contains the non-canonical sequence CVCC (cf. 2.43 n 2 on consonantal value of *y* here). Whether this explanation is valid diachronically is an open question (2.33 n 1); Muf. #663; Beeston 19; Fleisch Tr. #24; Bateson 10; Yushmanov 44; Bohas, *Bull. Ét. Or.* 29, 73. On syllable structure in general: Beeston 20; Fleisch 21, Tr. #34; Bateson 6; Yushmanov 14. Other consonant cluster problems: initial, 11.1 n 2, 13.12 n 1, final 3.53, 7.60.

2.6 (1) The lengthening marker in *qāḏī* is also *y*, which is thus 'elided' according to the same principle as the *y* in *fatā* (2.5), thus **qāḏiyu* > *qāḏī* (= *qāḏiy*), and **qāḏiyn* > *qāḏin*. Here, too, we cannot say whether the reconstructed phonological process reflects an actual historical sequence, though it is certainly likely that the reduction of **iyu* to *ī* is independent of the suffixation of *tanwīn*, since the change **iyu* > *ī* also occurs in verbs (e.g. **yarmiyu* > *yarmī*, 2.41 n 2). Note that the dep. form *qāḏiyan* is regular, 2.32 n 1.

(2) Paradigms of *qāḏī* and *fatā* are in 4.2 n 2. Among 'similar cases' we may mention those nouns whose third radical is *w*: these have become completely assimilated to *fatā* and *qāḏī*, according to whether the *w* is preceded by *a* or *i*, thus *Caṣan*, *al-Caṣā* 'stick' (but spelt with 'alif replacing the *w*, cf. 2.43 n 2), from **Caṣawn*, **al-Caṣawu*, and *ḡāzin*, *al-ḡāzī* 'raider', from **ḡāziwn*, **al-ḡāziwu*. The 'compensatory *tanwīn*' in *jawārin* etc. (1.44) is also formed on the analogy of *qāḏin* (see 8.3 n 2 on 'analogy', *qiyās*).

2.7 (1) Because in this position the *w* and *y* are consonantal (2.43 n 2) and syllable-initial, and are said to 'resemble the sound consonant' (*yuṣbiḥu ṣ-ṣaḥīḥ*). The paradigm is thus the same as for *rajulun* in 4.11 n 1, *ad-dalwu*, *dalwu*, *dalwun*, *dalw* etc.

(2) The terminology of 'explicit' and 'implicit' shows a slight overlap in the various Arabic equivalents: for 'implicit' we have here *muqaddar*, related to *taqḏīr* 'estimation', q.v. at 2.101 n 1. But there it is opposed to *lafẓ*, 'formal expression', while here it is opposed to *ẓāhir*, lit. 'manifest, apparent'. But elsewhere *ẓāhir* is opposed to *muḏmar* 'pronominalized' (e.g. 7.2, and see further 11.71). For translation purposes the appropriate word has been chosen from a basic set, 'formal, explicit, overt' against 'implicit, implied, assumed' on the one hand and 'pronominalized, suppressed' on the other.

(3) The final *ā* sound, then, may be spelt either with 'alif (2.43 n 2) or with *y*. The former may represent either a true *ā* (e.g. the dual suffix, 3.43) or a former weak radical, mostly *w* (2.6 n 2). The latter may represent a former weak radical *y* as in the examples given, and cf. 1.702 n 1, 3.92 n 2, or the fem. suffix *ā* known as the 'alif maqṣūra, q.v. at 3.89 n 2 (the term 'alif maqṣūra tends to be applied to all the forms of final *ā* except the true 'alif).

3.0 (1) *Jum.* 18; *Muf.* #16; *Alf.* v 25; *Qaṭr* 36; Beeston 51; Fleisch 37. 'Markers' renders literally *ʿalāmāt* (sing. *ʿalāma*), which also means 'signs, marks, symptoms' etc. From the same root is *ʿalam* 'proper name', q.v. at 11.72. For inflection, 'iCrāb, see 2.0 n 1.

(2) Arabic 'uṣūl, plur. of 'aṣl, lit. 'base, root, stock', in all the Islamic sciences used figuratively for 'basic norm' or 'archetype'. In grammar it denotes (a) a basic norm, as in this paragraph, (b) a regular form or structure, e.g. 4.01, 9.8 and cf. 8.3 n 2, (c) an underlying form, e.g. 8.2 n 3. The same metaphor supplies the term *farʿ* (plur. *furūʿ*), lit. 'branch', i.e. secondary or derivative form, e.g. 'secondary markers' in this para. More examples 11.7, 11.717.

(3) 'Replace' is literal for *nāba* 'to deputize, stand in for', which clearly corresponds to the modern notion of allomorphs (but see 8.0 n 3). A synonym of *nāba* is *kalafa*, cf. 5.51 n 2.

3.1 (1) The case/mood names are part of the earliest grammatical vocabulary and their origins are entirely obscure. It is only certain that they cannot be equated with any other system. They belong to a group of terms whose literal meanings are associated with building (see 3.8 n 1), but no clear relationship is discernible between their technical meaning and the form or function they denote. 'Independence' is thus only a free translation of *rafʿ*, lit. 'raising', no more than a convenient label for the function of 'independent elements' (ch. 6). Perhaps this set of 'building' terms originally described only orthographical or phonological features, cf. Carter, *R.E.I.* 40, 80.

(2) Lit. 'the daughter of u', an extremely common anthropomorphism (see 6.4 n 2). That the short vowels *a*, *i*, *u* are homorganic with the consonants ' , *y*, *w* has been an axiom of Arabic phonology from the first (cf. *Kitāb* II, 270, 342), hence the translation 'semi-vowels' here for *ḥurūf al-madd wa-l-līn*, lit. 'letters of stretching and softness'. See Fleisch, *Z.D.M.G.* 108, 74-105, esp. 90f.

(3) The arrangement is purely pedagogical: source al-Azhari, *Āj.* 19.

(4) Arabic *mawāḍiʿ* (sing. *mawḍiʿ*, lit. 'places', but clearly to be identified with 'functions', cf. Carter, *J.A.O.S.* 93, 48, and also *maḥall* at 5.81 n 3. In spite of such available terms a recent Tunisian textbook renders 'function' by *waḍifa*, lit. 'job, employment'. (See Borrmans, *I.B.L.A.* 32, 363-372 for this and other neologisms.)

3.21 (1) On *mufrad*, variously 'single, singular, simple', see 23.431 n 1.

(2) Paradigms: fully declinable noun 4.11 n 1; defective nouns *al-fatā* and *al-qāḍī* 4.2 n 2; semi-declinable noun 4.32 n 1; invariable noun 4.2 n 2 (c).

(3) Thus *ā* and *ī* on these words are not to be confused with the overt case markers *ā* (3.43) and *ī* (3.71) of other environments.

3.22 (1) *Jum.* 346; *Muf.* #234; *Alf.* v 791; Beeston 38; Fleisch 43, 92, *Tr.* #101, Yushmanov 42; Bateson 13; A.Murtonen, *Broken Plurals*, Leiden 1964; *E.I.* (2), art. 'Djam^C'. See also 4.12.

(2) The *ā* of '*asārā*' is the same invariable fem. suffix as is found on *ḥublā* (4.2 n 2 (c)). The *ī* of *ʿaḍārī* is not so easily explained. Fleisch (*Tr.* #102j) can only point out that nouns whose sing. bears the fem. suffixes *ā* or *ā'* (thus *ʿaḍrā'* in the present case) have fallen together with those whose final *ā* or *ā'* is a remnant of a weak 3rd radical *w* or *y* and which have plurals like *al-jawārī* (q.v. at 1.44). To add to the confusion, there is also a completely invariable plur. *ʿaḍārā*, like *ḥublā* and '*asārā*' above!

3.221 (1) *jam^C al-taksīr*, lit. 'pluralization by breaking', i.e. changing the pattern (10.37 n 1) of the sing. It is the change, and not the absolute pattern, which marks the plural: *kitāb* 'book' and *rijāl* 'men' both have the same pattern, but the latter contrasts with sing. *rajuḷ* 'man'.

(2) Over thirty patterns are found with plur. meaning (Wright I, 199) and many nouns may take more than one pattern, e.g. *nahr* 'river' has plur. '*anhur*, '*anhār*, *nuhur* and *nuhūr*. Sometimes a pattern becomes restricted to smaller numbers, e.g. '*aklub* '(10 or less) dogs', but *kilāb* '(more than 10) dogs'. Cf. Fleisch 44; 13.31 n 5.

The choice of plur. pattern can occasionally distinguish literal from figurative meanings: *bayt*, lit. 'house', fig. 'line of verse', has the plurals *buyūt* and '*abyāt* respectively in these two meanings.

The 'plural of the plural' (*jam^C al-jam^C*) is also possible: *buyūt* 'houses', *buyūtāt* 'noble families'; cf. Fleisch, *Tr.* #103b; 17.65 n 3.

(3) Broken plurals have the same inflections as sing. nouns, according to pattern. Most are fully declinable (4.12 n 2), some defective as in 3.22 n 2. For semi-declinable patterns see 3.89 (1).

3.23 (1) *Muf.* #234; *Alf.* v 41; *Qaṭr* 43; Beeston 39; Fleisch 41 (*Tr.* 283, 291); Yushmanov 42; Bateson 12; *E.I.* (2), art. 'Djam^C'. Origins 4.31 n 1; paradigm 4.13 n 2; syntax 7.22 n 1, 7.28. The English is a literal translation of *jam^C al-mu'annaṭ as-sālim*.

(2) i.e. it is not the agent pronoun but only the sign that the agent is fem. (7.58 n 1).

3.231 (1) i.e. it is a suffix plural, described in 3.23 as *mazīd*, lit. 'augmented'. The related term *ziyāda* is used variously for 'lengthening' (3.221), 'augment' (3.89 (7), 5.3, 8.51 etc.), and to denote a 'redundant element' (5.413 n 1).

(2) Distribution of sound fem. plur. Fleisch, *Tr.* #63; *E.I.* (2), art. 'DjamC'. Those masc. nouns which regularly take this plural are interesting for their own sake: (a) diminutives (3.421 n 1), (b) abstract participial and verbal nouns, e.g. *taṣlīḥāt* 'repairs', lit. 'acts of repairing', *maṣrūbāt* 'drinks', lit. 'things drunk', (c) foreign words, especially when they do not fit into the simpler patterns: contrast the broken plur. 'aflām' 'films' and the sound fem. plur. *tilifūnāt* 'telephones'.

(3) This remark, like the whole paragraph, is copied from al-Azhari, *Āj.* 26 (expanded in *Taṣr.* I, 79), and only makes sense if we assume that the change from *ḥublā* to *ḥublay-* is 'breaking' as defined in 3.221, though a more natural explanation is that the *ā* is restored intervocally to its original *ay* value (1.702 n 1). There are also genuine broken plurals of *ḥublā*, cf. Fleisch, *Tr.* #102j.

3.24 (1) See 3.44 for the personal suffixes.

(2) Zero-operator: 5.34 n 1. In the artificial rivalry between 'Kūfans' and 'Baṣrans' (9.4 n 3) the concept of the zero-operator was credited to the Kūfans, cf. *Inṣāf.* prob. 74. This view was shared by Ibn Mālik (*Alf.* v 676) and Ibn Hišām (*Qaṭr* 54), but not by az-Zamākṣarī (*Muf.* #408).

(3) Paradigms at 4.4 n 5 and 4.81 n 2. On *yaḳṣā* etc. cf. 2.41 n 2.

3.241 (1) Arabic *nūn al-'ināṭ* 'the *n* of females', conventionally naming only the characteristic consonant (see 3.5 n 2). Since it is always realized as *na* it will always be so transcribed, except at 2.1. See further at 7.62.

(2) The transliteration problem for *nūn at-tawkid* 'the *n* of emphasis' is the same as for the fem. plur. *na* in the previous note. It is realized in a 'light' form *an* and a 'heavy' form *anna* (q.v. 26.34 n 2), the latter being preferred for transcription, except at 2.1. See *Muf.* #610; *Alf.* v 635; Fleisch 108. Arab segmentation is into *a-*, invariable verb ending, and *-n*, *-nna*, cf. 5.32 n 4.

(3) See 3.44 on these agent pronouns; on 'status' 5.81 n 3. The superficial similarity between the noun suffixes *āni/ayni* (dual, 3.43), *ūna/īna* (masc. plur., 3.4) and the verb suffixes *īna/āni/ūna* listed here probably reflects a common origin (cf. 5.02 for the overall similarities between nouns and imperfect tense verbs). But the two sets of elements are, correctly, segmented quite differently by the Arab grammarians: the noun suffixes are analysed into case morphemes *ā/ay*, *ū/ī* (see ensuing paragraphs) and definition morphemes *nī*, *na*

(but see 23.41 n 4), the verb suffixes into agent pronouns *ī*, *ā*, *ū*, and 'case' (= mood, 5.02) morphemes *nī*, *na*, *∅*. See 7.8 n 1 for Arab segmentation of imperfect tense verb.

3.3 (1) The problem raised here is the difference between phonemes and morphemes, a distinction which is implicit in the earliest grammar *Kitāb I*, 1). The comment of al-Uṣmūnī on *Alf.* v 25 seems by comparison rather careless: 'there is no contradiction in calling these (vowels) both actual inflections and markers of inflection, as they are in the broad sense inflection by being a feature produced by the operator, and in the narrow sense markers of inflection'. This tends to blur a very important distinction which is hardly a 'terminological nicety' as suggested by Drozdik, *J.M.S.* 5, 73.

(2) This translates *ḡā l-^Calāmati*, lit. 'what the marker belongs to'. The criticism that the Arabs had no abstract concept of case, mood and declension (e.g. Fleisch, in *E.I.* (2), art. 'I^Crāb') is not relevant to the descriptive aims of their grammar, which has achieved a high level of adequacy precisely through the 'purely formal manner' that Fleisch deplores. See also 11.2 n 1.

(3) i.e. the phoneme and morpheme respectively; cf. 22.12 n 1.

3.4 (1) See 3.1 n 4; 'replacements', i.e. allomorphs, are dealt with distributionally, i.e. in terms of their function.

3.41 (1) *jam^C al-muḡakkar as-sālim*, translated literally.

Jum. 19; *Muf.* #234; *Alf.* v 35; *Qaṭr* 41; Fleisch 41 (*Tr.* #59);

Yushmanov 42; Bateson 12; *E.I.* (2), art. 'D^jam^C'.

Paradigm 4.6 n 1; syntax 7.23 n 1; whether a genuine inflection 3.42 n 2. See also 23.41 n 4.

The origin of the sound masc. plur. *ū* is said to be a lengthening of the sing. *u*, opposing a common dep./obl. ending *i* which has also been lengthened (Moscatti #12.37), but this may be an oversimplification (Fleisch, *Tr.* #60d, e).

(2) Morphologically nouns and adjectives are almost identical (cf. Beeston 34) and can usually only be distinguished by function: thus any adjective may stand alone as a noun, and there is a clear similarity between the attributive adjective (11.1 etc.) and the various appositional noun structures (chs. 12-14). But see 11.61 n 1.

3.411 (1) See 11.42 n 1 for fem. t. The nouns cited here always denote males, either as proper names (and therefore semi-declinable, 3.89

(4)), or intensives (others: *nassābatun* 'great genealogist', *raḥḥālatun* 'great traveller' etc.). Plur. is rare, sound fem. is mostly used. One common word in this class is *kalīfatun* 'caliph', which has broken plur. *ḡulafā'u*. See Fleisch, *Tr.* #98; *Inṣāf*, prob. 4.

(2) Here natural gender triumphs over grammatical gender, and sound fem. or broken plurals are used. Note that fem. adjectives of the type *ḥā'idun* 'menstruating', if used participially, do take the fem. marker, scil. 'is now menstruating' (Fleischer, *Kl. Schr.* I, 250, Nöldeke 20). In addition, there is a sizable class of adjectives which never vary

for gender, e.g. *qatīlun* 'dead' (masc. or fem.), perhaps because they have never lost their nominal character, scil. 'something dead' (but see further 3.411 n 7).

(3) Explained by Ibn Yaʿīš on *Muf.* #4 as denoting 'human persons' ('*ašḵāṣ* 'ādamiyya, lit. 'persons related to Adam'). Creatures of other genealogies take broken plurals, if at all (cf. Lane s.v. *sābiqun*).

(4) *murakkab* 'isnādī: see 1.12 n 1 on 'compound'; for 'predicative' cf. 9.1 n 1. These compounds are so named because their constituents are in a predicative relationship, though this is widened by some grammarians to a 'sentence' (*jumla*) relationship so as to include such non-predicative compounds as *ta'abbāṭa šarran* 'he bore evil under his arm' (name of a poet: *šarran* 'evil' variously explained as a sword or a snake). It is unlikely that these names ever did have a plural; they are probably examples of nominalization by 'verbatim quotation' (see *ḥikāya* 1.45 n 3 (c)). Another specimen, though not a proper noun, is at 1.13.

(5) *murakkab mazajī*, translated literally, and denoting compounds of constituents with no grammatical relationship to each other. The many names ending in *wayhi* (e.g. *sībawayhi*, 1.42) are in this category; plurals are excessively improbable, though Wright (I, 196) offers a sound plur. of *maʿdīkaribu*: The third type of compound proper name, the 'annexed compound' (11.723), pluralizes the first element only: *ʿabīdu llāhi* 'the ʿAbdullāhs' (see further 3.65 n 7).

(6) These combine both comparative and superlative functions: 20.4

(7) The four classes of adjectives represented here have (a) active form with passive meaning, unmarked for gender (*Muf.* #269; *Alf.* v 762; Nöldeke 20); (b) intensive form with active meaning, also unmarked for gender (*Muf.*, Nöld. *ibid*; *Alf.* v 760); (c) suffix *ān* (*Fleisch* 88, *Tr.* #97) but with a separate fem. pattern, e.g. *sakrā* (*Muf.* #272; *Alf.* v 765); (d) the pattern '*afʿalu* (fem. *faʿlāʾu*) denoting colours or physical defects (*Muf.* #272; *Alf.* v 763). This last class is now closed, unlike the formally very similar 'relative' (20.4), and a common origin is assumed for both, with reservations (H. Wehr, *Der arabische Elativ*, Wiesbaden 1952, 6; W. Fischer, *Farb- und Formenbezeichnungen in der Sprache der altarabischen Dichtung*, Wiesbaden 1965, esp. 6, 64, 142).

All the above (except 'elatives') thus have broken plur., e.g. *jarḥā* 'wounded', *šuburun* 'very patient', *sukārā* 'drunk', all common gender.

3.412 (1) *Alf.* v 36; *Qaṭr* 41; but here from al-Azharī, *Taṣr.* I, 72.

(2) '*ulū* functions as a plur. of *qū* (3.42) and in that sense is not a true suffix plural; being always annexed, it is never *'*ulūna*. It is probably related to the demonstratives at 11.734.

(3) Evidently a loan-word from Aramaic or Syriac (A. Jeffreys, *The Foreign Vocabulary of the Qurʾān*, Baroda 1938, 208). The grammarians regard it as a collective rather than a plural.

(4) These are formally the plurals of their respective units, with twenty, originally a dual of ten (**Cašrā*) assimilated to the plurals of the other decades (Fleisch 97, *Tr.* #106r); see also 20.22 n 1.

(5) This seems more like a genuine sound plur. with dissimilation of the initial consonant cluster. For 'regular' cf. 8.3 n 2.

(6) There is also a regular sound masc. plur. *ḥarrūna*.

(7) There are also broken and sound fem. plurals of this word, as well as a regular sound masc. '*arḡūna* (Fleisch, *Tr.* #61h). The singular is grammatically feminine! (Cf. 11.43 n 3).

(8) A sound fem. plur. *sanawātun* exists in free variation.

(9) According to Fleisch, 90 (*Tr.* #98a) the 1st rad. w of these words has been lost, and is compensated by the fem. sing. and sound masc. plur. suffixes, in order to retain the appearance of having three radicals. Cf. Ibn Ya^Ciš on *Muf.* #234, al-Ušmūnī on *Alf.* v 38.

(10) The distribution of the sound masc. plur. is very restricted in Arabic: in effect it is confined to two classes of words, (a) proper names (but these often have broken plurals as an alternative, cf. 4.12 as against 4.6, and, for the sound fem. plur., 4.12 against 4.31), and (b) participles (which are often of a form which could not be fitted into a broken plur. pattern anyway), with the added condition that both must denote rational beings. Otherwise the sound masc. plur. has been largely displaced by the broken plur. in the South Semitic group of languages (cf. Moscati #12.44).

(11) The *ūn* here is an ancient suffix not cognate with the masc. plur. suffix (Fleisch, *Tr.* #97d), nor is it common (as suggested here) for nouns with *ūn* to inflect like sound masc. plurals: they usually take the same endings as nouns in *ān* (3.89 (7)), viz. *zaydūnu*, *zaydūna*.

(12) A loan word from Hebrew, found in Qur'ān S. 83 vv 18, 19, and explained as meaning 'highest part of heaven' (but see E.I. (2), art. '^CIlliyūn').

3.42 (1) *Jum.* 18; *Muf.* #16; *Alf.* v 27; *Qaṭr* 36; paradigm 4.71 n 1. These are 'defective' (*mu^Ctalla*, 2.43 n 2) only in the artificial sense that they appear to lack a third radical. In fact, they probably never had one, but are part of the small stock of primitive biliteral roots which survive (others include *yad* 'hand', *ism* 'name', *dam* 'blood', *mā* 'water', cf. Fleisch, *Tr.* #52). By Systemzwang they do acquire third radicals in dual and plur., cf. 3.65 n 9.

(2) There has been some debate as to whether the long vowel inflections here, and those of the dual (*ā/ay*) and masc. plur. (*ū/I*) are real inflections (cf. *Inṣāf*, prob. 2). The 'Kūfan' position is that, since such words already bore short vowel inflections *u*, *a*, *i*, the subsequent lengthening markers duplicated the inflections and were thus not themselves true inflection markers. The 'Baṣrans' replied that the lengthening elements were simply prolongations of inflection, not duplications of it.

3.421 (1) Annexation 26.7. 'Non-diminutive' renders *mukabbara*, lit. 'enlarged', antonym of *muṣaḡḡar(a)* 'made small', i.e. 'diminutive'. A noun is made diminutive by converting it into one of a special range of patterns all showing the characteristic vowel sequence *u-ay*, e.g. *kulayb* 'small dog' (from *kalb*), *ṣuway^cir* 'poetaster' (from *ṣā^cir*). Diminutives of the 'five nouns' are regular, but rare, e.g. 'ubayy 'little father', *fuwayh* 'little mouth'. *Jum.* 247; *Muf.* #274; *Alf.* v 833; *Fleisch* 70 (and index), *Tr.* #71f. The name *Sulaymān* (1.701) is a diminutive of Solomon in the Arab view (but see Jeffrey, op. cit. 3.412 n 3, 178). Cf. also *Buṭayna* in 13.13.

(2) The examples are from *Qur'ān* S. 4 v 12; S. 12 v 78; S. 4 v 23.

(3) Possessive suffixes 4.72 n 2. The suffix *ī* 'my' displaces all the short vowel inflections, e.g. *kitābī* 'my book' (**kitābu-ī*), *kitābatī* 'my writing' (**kitābatu-ī*). The case of '*aḳī* 'my brother' etc. is peculiar in that, for total symmetry, a long vowel must be assumed to have been displaced by *ī*, parallel to the long vowels which occur before the other possessive suffixes ('*aḳūka* 'your brother' etc., see 3.42), and which is still found in colloquial '*aḳūya* 'my brother'. An allomorph of this *ī* is *ya*, which occurs after vowels *ā*, *ī*, (except the 'five nouns'), and diphthong *ay*, e.g. *fatāya* 'my boy' (see 23.62 n 3). Note *kādimiyya* 'my servants', all cases (**kādimūya* changed to avoid non-canonical sequence *ūy*), and '*ilayya* 'to me' in 5.411 (see '*ilā*, 1.702), '*alayya* 'upon me' in 13.13, 14.62 (see '*alā*, 1.704).

(4) Hence 'six nouns' in 3.422. This one differs from the others in that its third radical is felt to be entirely lacking: that of the 'five nouns', though phonologically defective (*mu^ctall*, 2.43 n 2) is still a psychological reality even when absent.

3.422 (1) Some obviously foreign words, e.g. *samandū* 'salamander' (?) (from as-Suyūṭī, *Aṣṣbāḥ* II, 27) are probably invariable, as also such proper names as *Ibn Hindū* etc. The name *Camrun* 'CAmr', spelt in its indep. and obl. forms with final *ū* is unique; it is apparently a Nabatean survival (*Fleisch*, *Tr.* #54e n 1). Contrast *dalwun* etc., 2.7.

3.43 (1) *Jum.* 23; *Muf.* #228; *Alf.* v 32; *Qaṭr* 39; *Beeston* 38; *Fleisch* 41; *Bateson* 12; *Yushmanov* 41. The dual suffixes are Proto-Semitic, showing vowel dissimilation **āna* > *āni* etc. (*Moscatti* #12.62). Syntax cf. 7.22 n 1; paradigm 4.5 n 1; distribution 3.65; definition 3.63; whether *ā/ay* are true inflections 3.42 n 2.

3.44 (1) This *n* is realized as *na* or *nī*, see 4.81 n 1.

(2) Spelling instructions: Arabic orthography has two peculiarities, (a) in normal circumstances only consonants are written, the short vowels being added as diacriticals only when necessary, (b) several consonants are distinguished from each other only by the number and position of their dots. Consequently explicit instructions are often included during dictation of the text and remain part of it thereafter. The present case is typical: *y* and *t* differ only in the position of the two dots (others *passim*, and see also 1.92, 10.15). Vowels are

indicated by their names, *fatha* 'a', *kasra* 'i', *ḍamma* 'u' (O.4 n 3), cf. chs. 7, 8, where active and passive verbs differ only in vowels. Difficult words are spelt out more or less completely, e.g. O.4, 11.61, 11.731-732. Cf. Wright I, pp 4, 7f.

(3) On the segmentation of these verbs cf. 3.241 n 3 and 5.3.

3.45 (1) *al-'amṭila l-ḵamsa*, translated literally. From the very earliest grammar it has been the practice to symbolize the pattern of a word (see 10.37 n 1) by using the radicals *f-C-l*: thus in the present paragraph *yaḡhabāni* 'they two go' has the pattern *yaf^Calāni*, which stands for any active, imperfect tense, indep. 3rd masc. dual verb. Similarly *taḡribīna* 'you (fem. sing.) strike' in 3.44 has the pattern *taf^Cilīna*, and so on for all words.

(2) This quibble arises because *f-C-l* is also a root in its own right, meaning 'do', but the writer here intends its symbolic function, not its literal meaning, in other words, as the name of a category which is not identical with the members of that category (cf. 1.23). The 'six nouns', however, are genuine nouns. Cf. also 5.1 n 2 on radicals.

(3) Ibn Hišām 1.02 n 1; Commentary on the *Lumḡa* (unpubl.) G.A.L. II, 110. But aš-Širbīnī is undoubtedly quoting indirectly, from al-Azhārī, *Taṣr.* I, 85. Curiously Ibn Hišām does not express these views in his more widely known works, but speaks only of 'five verbs'. Yāsīn, in his commentary on *Taṣr.* I, 85, offers an additional choice of seven, eight, nine and ten verbs, by devious arguments!

(4) Zero-operator 5.34 n 1; *n* realized as *na* or *ni* 4.81 n 1.

3.5 (1) The term 'dependence' is a free translation of the Arabic *naṣb*, lit. 'erection, setting up': like all the case/mood nomenclature, its origins and precise technical application are obscure (cf. 3.1 n 1). It may be significant that the most obvious orthographical feature of many dependent forms is word-final *ā* or *an*, both written with a character which is essentially a vertical stroke (cf. 1.4 n 5), and it is just possible that *naṣb* may be descriptive of this. Cf. 3.8 n 1. The English 'dependent' is merely an attempt to reproduce the general function of *maṣṣūb* elements (cf. ch. 15).

(2) There are transliteration problems here: the Arabic convention is to name only the characteristic consonant, or in this case, semi-vowel, leaving the vocalization to be determined by context. Here *y* stands for the sound masc. plur. *ī* (= *iy*, cf. 2.43 n 2) and the dual *ay*, which in the present paragraph can only be covered by the ad hoc transliteration *ī/ay*. Where relevant, only one of these is used, e.g. *ī* at 3.71, *ay* at 3.63.

(3) Cf. 3.1 n 3.

3.51 (1) The examples string together specimens of the fully declinable proper noun (11.721), semi-declinable proper noun (3.89 (6)), invariable noun (2.31) and annexed proper noun (11.723), all masc. Fem. nouns behave likewise, according to category. Note that in

the annexed proper name only the first element inflects, the second being fixed in oblique form by annexation (ch. 26, and cf. 3.65 n 7).

(2) Parsing in general 8.21 n 1; verb and pronoun agent 7.5; predicate as nominal marker 1.6; direct object ch. 16; coordination ch. 12.

3.52 (1) Broken plur. 3.22, 3.221; paradigm 4.12 n 2.

(2) The first two examples show that a is common to both genders of broken plural; *al-'asārā* 'the prisoners' is completely invariable, like *al-fatā* in 2.31; *al-ḡadāriya* 'the virgins' is, in the dep. form only, entirely regular, like *al-ḡadī* in 2.6 (the other plural form, *al-ḡadārā*, is completely invariable, cf. 3.22 n 2, but is clearly not intended in the present context, even though, in the absence of vowel signs, either could be read here).

(3) It is the custom in the metalanguage to refer to verbs in their active, past tense, 3rd masc. sing. form, principally because this is simplest (cf. 5.1). Though it may seem possible here that '*akramtu* has been segmented into a stem '*akram-* and suffix *-tu*, this is ruled out by, for example the case of *marartu* 'I passed' in 21.33, where it is not the dissimilated stem *marar-* (cf. 11.3 n 1) which is quoted in the parsing, but the 3rd masc. sing. *marra*, lit. 'he passed' but here clearly 'to pass'. Similar examples in 3.61, 4.11 etc. Occasionally the convention lapses (cf. *ra'aytu* 'I saw' in 4.11 and 4.12), and sometimes the reference is clearly to a past stem, e.g. 7.51, 8.61 rather than an infinitive.

3.53 (1) Paradigm 4.82 n 1.

(2) For fem. *na* see 3.241 n 1; emphatic *anna* 3.241 n 2; the 'five verbs' 3.44, 45.

(3) Note that *lan* is defined by its functions, and cf. 5.42. The etymology of *lan* has been a matter of dispute from the earliest times, though curiously it is not dealt with in the *Inṣāf*. The source for *aṣ-Ṣirbīnī* is mainly *al-Azharī*, *Taṣr.* II, 229-30, and the neatest discussion of the whole issue is in *Ibn Hišām*, *Muḡnī* I, 221. The etymology **lā*+*'an* goes back as far as *al-Kalīl* (*Kitāb* I, 361), and is also the one favoured by Brockelmann (*Grundr.* II, 603) and most Western scholars (e.g. *Fleisch* 201 n 1), but see Aartun, *Oriens* 25-26, 187, for *lan* = *lā* + emphatic *n* suffix.

(4) S. 19 v 26.

(5) S. 2 v 95, being Muḡammad's answer to his opponents' claim that heaven was reserved exclusively for them: if true, 'they shall never desire (scil. death)'. According to *az-Zamaḡṣarī* (see next note) *lan* denotes perpetual negation (so in his *Unmūḡaj*, ed. de Sacy in *Anthologie grammaticale arabe*, Paris 1829, ar. text p. 109, but note that as well as *ta'bīd* 'perpetuation', a milder variant is offered, viz. *ta'yīd*, which means no more than 'reinforcement'). This view is the result of *az-Zamaḡṣarī*'s adherence to the hyper-rationalist Muḡtazila sect (q.v. *E.I.* (1)), one of whose aims was the removal of

anthropomorphism from speculation about God.

(6) S. 22 v 73. Az-Zamaḡṣarī, 1075-1144 (G.A.L. I, 289), is best known for his elegantly structured *Mufaṣṣal* (which formed the basis of Howell's huge work), on which he wrote his own commentary and of which the *Unmūḡaj* is itself an abridgement (see previous note). His great Qur'ān commentary, the *Kaṣṣāf*, was felt to be too heterodox and was eventually purified and condensed in the version of al-Bayḡāwī.

(7) S. 7 v 143, God speaking to Moses (cf. *Kaṣṣāf* I, 349). In his own Qur'ān Commentary, I, 491-2, aṣ-Širbīnī refutes at length the implications of az-Zamaḡṣarī's interpretation (which effectively denies the Beatific Vision) and, for good measure, the three other verses already cited here. The 'external factor' in S. 22 v 73 is simply that man will never be able to create a fly in any case, with or without *lan*! Again aṣ-Širbīnī is using al-Azharī, *Taṣr.* II, 229.

3.61 (1) See 3.42. Note that 'mouth' has an alternative, completely regular biliteral set (cf. 3.42 n 1), *famun* 'a mouth', *al-famu* 'the mouth', *famī* 'my mouth', *famuka* 'your (masc. sing.) mouth' etc., dep. forms *faman*, *al-fama*, *famaka* etc., obl. *famin*, *al-fami*, *famika* etc. In the *fūka/fāka/fīka* set note *fiyya* 'my mouth' (cf. 3.421 n 3).

(2) See 3.52 n 3 for the practice of quoting verbs in the 3rd masc. sing. past tense. Verbs with a weak 3rd radical present problems similar to those of *al-fatā* in 2.5, in that the 3rd masc. sing. past tense seems to be reduced from **ra'aya* to *ra'ā* and the fem. sing. from **ra'āt* to *ra'at*. Bravmann (*Arabica* 18, 213-5) suggests, however, that the masc. *ra'ā* at one time had a short variant **ra'a*, from which the fem. *ra'at* was derived quite regularly by suffixing the fem. marker *t* (5.01). Paradigm of this verb in 10.65 nn 1, 3.

3.62 (1) See 3.23. It is suggested that the *i* vowel arose by dissimilation from **āta* to *āti* (Fleisch, *Tr.* #59d).

(2) S. 29 v 44 and S. 45 v 22. The word *samāwātun* and its singular *samā'un* show alternation of ' and the weak radical *w*. This alternation (called '*ibdāl*', lit. 'replacement' and cognate with the syntactic term *badal* 'substitution', q.v. ch. 14) occurs in both directions: in *qaḡā'un* 'judgement', for example, the weak 3rd radical *y* is replaced by ' , as is weak 3rd rad. *w* in *ṣafā'un* 'purity', while in the opposite direction the non-radical ' of the fem. suffix *ā'* (3.89 (2)) is replaced by *w*, e.g. *ṣaḡrāwātun* 'deserts', to which category *samā'un/samāwātun* belongs. *Muf.* #682; *Alf.* v 942; Fleisch, *Tr.* #50, 63d, g; for '*ibdāl* denoting etymological alternation of radicals see *E.I.* (2), art. '*Ibdāl*', Yushmanov 34.

(3) We are not told in aṣ-Širbīnī's immediate source (al-Azharī, *Āj.* 29) whose opinion this is, but from what al-Azharī says in *Taṣr.* I, 79f, we learn that this is a theological, not grammatical matter: as the ultimate 'agent', God acts 'absolutely', and what He creates is not 'direct objects' but 'absolute objects'. See ch. 17 for the absolute object, and 5.751 n 1 for more theological intrusions.

3.63 (1) From here to the end of 3.65 may be taken as illustrative of late medieval scholarship: it is a slight abridgement of al-Azharī, *Taṣr.* I, 66-7, i.e. al-Azharī's comments on Ibn Hišām's comments on Ibn Mālik's *Alfiyya*, offered to us by aš-Širbīnī as his comments on the *Ājurrūmiyya*!

(2) This is a good specimen of 'rational dichotomy' (1.2 n 2): the 'generic expression' denotes all words referring to pairs whether dual or not, from which first those words in which the *ān* is not a dual suffix (cf. 3.72 n 2, 3.89 (7)) are excluded, and second those which do denote pairs but are not morphologically dual are excluded.

(3) Apart from not having a singular, these are excluded on the grounds that they can denote two different entities, cf. 13.43.

3.64 (1) Note that proper nouns become formally defined in the dual and plural, cf. 3.65 n 8.

(2) The grammarians identify various semantic categories of nouns: proper noun, *ism ʿalam*, 11.72; common noun, *ism jins*, 23.31, either abstract, *ism maʿnā* or concrete, *ism ʿayn*, 24.21; collective noun, *ism jamʿ*. The collective noun denotes groups from which the individual cannot be isolated and contrasts with the generic noun (*ism jins*, note overlap of terminology with the common noun), whose fem. sing. denotes an individual, e.g. *naḥlun* 'bees (as a class)', *naḥlatun* 'a bee' (the example in our text, *ḡanam*, is badly chosen, cf. Lane). On the many formal categories of noun cf. 19.31 n 1.

(3) The spelling instructions (cf. 3.44 n 2) are here a device for contrasting the dual a(yn)i with the masc. plur. i(yn)a (2.43 n 2).

3.65 (1) General references at 3.43 n 1.

(2) Dual of sound plur. would result in suffixation of two incompatible elements (masc. plur. 3.41, fem. plur. 3.23). Duals of broken plur. are possible (example in 3.64) but objections to dual of *masājidu* etc. are twofold: (a) no sing. nouns ever have these patterns (3.221 n 1), hence they lack the unitary (collective) connotation which allows, for example, *jimālun* '(group of) camels' in 3.64 to be dualized; (b) these patterns are already felt to be about as lengthy as the morphology of Arabic will allow (cf. 1.44 n 1) and further suffixation is unwieldy.

(3) This problem is discussed again in 11.733, at which see note 2 for details. As a controversy between 'Baṣrans' and 'Kūfans' (see 9.4 n 3) it has a rather spurious air, as it is not found in the early anthologies of their disputes. It may date back no further than the time of Ibn Yaʿīš (died 1245), who refers to it in his commentary on *Mufaṣṣal* #171.

(4) On *murakkab* 'compound' in general see 1.12 n 1.

(5) *murakkab 'isnādī*, q.v. at 3.411 n 4.

(6) *murakkab mazaḥī*, q.v. at 3.411 n 5.

(7) *murakkab 'idāfī*, cf. also 11.723. The dual of *ʿabdu llāhi* is thus

ʿabdā llāhi 'the two ʿAbdullāhs', lit. 'the two servants of God'. (Note that in the dep./obl. *ʿabdayi llāhi* a glide vowel is required between the two elements, v. 11.1 n 2). Duals and plurals of these nouns are naturally rare, and are hardly touched upon by grammarians; *Kitāb* II, 103 has a short chapter on the topic, where (reflecting the lack of unanimity?) no less than three plurals of *ʿabdu llāhi* are offered as free variants: two broken, viz. *ʿabīdu llāhi*, *ʿibādu llāhi*, and a sound plur. *ʿabdū llāhi*. In *Muf.* #10 the broken plur. *ʿabādilatū* is used casually without comment, explained by Ibn Yaʿīš ad loc. as formed from the root letters of the name *ʿabdu llāhi* (cf. 1.0 n 1).

(8) Proper names are defined by nature (11.72), and presence or absence of the definite article is a matter of convention (cf. 11.82 n 4). But the article always appears in the dual and plural, because it alone can define a word which now refers to more than one person or place (cf. Nöldeke 29). Though the Arab analysis has a flavour of deep structure about it, it is more probably based on a correct grasp of the Arabs' own intuitive feelings about proper names and definition.

(9) 'Stem-form' renders *lafz*, lit. 'expression, utterance' (as in 1.11) but here clearly meaning that there should be no change in the pattern of the singular. Ibn ʿAqīl on *Alf.* vv 32-4 puts it succinctly: a true dual is *ṣāliḥ li-t-tajrīd*, lit. 'appropriate to be stripped (of its dual suffix)' the residue being the original singular. The anomaly in '*abawāni*' is the restoration of a missing 3rd radical before suffixation (cf. 4.71 n 1); moreover the conditions of sub-para. (8) below probably apply. On 'usage predominating' see n 12 below.

(10) Equivocal words (*muṣṭarīk*) are those with more than one meaning, whose duals ought then to be confined to a single meaning. The problem is discussed at length by al-Astarābādī in his commentary on *Kāfiya* II, 160: he finds its author, Ibn al-Ḥāḡib (12.912 n 3) somewhat radical in allowing duals to be applied to any two entities which in the speaker's mind share a common property, e.g. al-'*abyaḡāni*' 'the two white ones', viz. a man and a horse (but in fact such pairings are not infrequent, and al-Astarābādī's objection possibly stems from the feeling that these quasi-proverbial usages are no longer productive). In addition Ibn al-Ḥāḡib is inconsistent in prohibiting duals of equivocal nouns in his *Kāfiya* while allowing them as rare exceptions in his commentary on the *Mufaṣṣal* (probably because the *Mufaṣṣal* is a more advanced work). Of the 'two tongues' here the other is the sword!

(11) It seems that in 13.7 aṣ-Ṣīrbīnī contradicts what he says here, but he has simply omitted to mention that *sawā'āni* is relatively rare.

(12) 'Usage predominating' translates *taḡlīb*, lit. 'overwhelming, prevalence'. Here and in sub-para. (5) above this translation has been chosen to signify the implicit admission of defeat by the prescriptive grammarians, acknowledging that their system cannot accommodate all the observed phenomena of the language. A similar phrase, 'predominant usage' has been used to render the cognate term *ḡālib*, lit. 'prevalent, conquering', but this is applied to the overall situation (e.g. 19.3,

19.6) rather than to isolated anomalies, and indeed means little more than 'on the whole'.

(13) Here one particularly regrets the disappearance of this work, as it is one of the few places where aš-Širbīnī appears to have substantially differed from his usual source, al-Azharī, *Taṣr.* I, 67: instead of ascribing *al-qamarāni* to 'usage predominating', al-Azharī says it is 'figurative' (*majāzī*, cf. 13.3 n 1).

3.71 (1) See 3.42 n 2 on whether *ī* is an inflection marker at all. Note that proper nouns which may not have had a definite article in the singular nevertheless have one in the plural, cf. 3.65 n 8.

(2) See 3.44 n 2 on spelling instructions; the intention here is to contrast the vowel sequence of the masc. plur. *i(yn)a* (cf. 2.43 n 2) with the vowels of the dual *a(yn)i*.

3.72 (1) i.e. at 3.71.

(2) The dual and sound masc. plur. are structurally so similar that they are often treated together, cf. *Jum.* 23 for a good example. It is, coincidentally, also true that the *ān* suffix occurs as a plural morpheme in other Semitic languages (Moscatti #12.41-42) as well as on some Arabic broken plurals (Fleisch 88).

(3) Lit. it is the 'brother' of the dual, one of the personifications which are typical of Arabic grammar and which go back to the earliest period (cf. also 3.1 n 2). On 'inflected with long vowels' see 4.02 n1.

3.73 (1) See 3.45.

(2) This is a slight overstatement: in 3.241 and 3.45 aš-Širbīnī has merely implied that the loss of *n* is a dependence marker. The term 'elision' renders *ḥaḍf*, lit. 'cutting off (with a sword etc.)', which in grammar is applied to elision on two levels: on the syntactic level *ḥaḍf* denotes the elision of a syntactic unit such as the subject or predicate of an equational sentence (9.9), a noun or its adjectival qualifier (11.61), the antecedent of a circumstantial qualifier (19.8) etc. On the morphological level elision is normally phonemic, as here, but non-phonemic elision also occurs, e.g. in the vocative (23.61-62). For elision in its most characteristic function, i.e. as a marker of the apocopated verb, see further in 3.9 n 2. Note that elision of final short vowels is not termed *ḥaḍf*, cf. 3.91 n 1 and, on the special case of the reduction of word endings in utterance final position ('pausal form'), see 2.14 n 2.

(3) See 3.241 n 3 on the similarity between these and nominal morphemes.

(4) See 5.42 on *lan*, and cf. 3.53.

(5) On 'status' see 5.81 n 3. That verbs are predicates of their agents has already been illustrated by the examples in 1.6 and is formally stated in the definition of the agent in 7.01. An early discussion of this topic is in az-Zajjājī, *Ṭīqāt* 119 (summarized by as-Suyūṭī, *Ašbāḥ* I, 85), whose central notion is that verbs are by nature undefined and

predicative because (op. cit. 108-9) they do not denote 'named entities' (*musammayāt*) but are only 'references' ('*adilla*) to things (cf. Versteegh 71, 140).

3.8 (1) 'Obliqueness' renders *kafḍ*, lit. 'lowering' (antonym of the case name *rafʿ* 'independence', but lit. 'raising', 3.1). Once again, the translation merely reflects the approximate function of 'oblique elements' (ch. 26), leaving the origin of this term unexplained. The primitive connection with 'building' (3.1 n 1) is reinforced by the literal meanings of some other grammatical terms, e.g. '*isnād*, lit. 'propping up' (predication, 9.1 n 1), '*idāfa*, lit. 'inclining' (annexation, 26.7 n 1), '*imāla*, lit. 'leaning', (raising back a to front a in environment of *i*), '*binā*', lit. 'building' (invariability, 1.4 n 4), and most of the terminology of Arabic prosody (cf. E.I. (2), art. 'ʿArūḍ'). To complicate matters there is an alternative term for obliqueness, *jarr*, lit. 'dragging', see further 26.0 n 1.

(2) See 3.5 n 2 on the transliteration *ī/ay*; 3.1 n 2 on 'related'.

3.81 (1) On the features of full declinability see 1.41. Paradigms of fully declinable nouns at 4.11 n 1.

3.82 (1) Broken plur. 3.22; paradigms at 4.12 n 2.

(2) 3.87. Semi-declinable nouns have a when oblique regardless of whether they are sing. or plur.

3.83 (1) Sound fem. plur. 3.23; paradigm at 4.13 n 2.

(2) An important issue is raised here: sound fem. plurals do not have three case endings (cf. paradigm at 4.13 n 2), hence 'fully declinable' may seem to be inappropriate. Such a translation is justified by the fact that most fully declinable nouns have three case endings, but at the same time it obscures the assumptions behind the Arabic term: by comparison with 1.41 (and contrast 18.41) it is clear that 'fully declinable' refers to the ability of a noun to take the indefinite suffix *n* (*tanwīn*, 1.4), which is normally associated with the three case endings, with the exception of the dual and suffix plurals. In *Kl. Schr.* I, 308 Fleischer argues (against all the Arab grammarians) that full declinability (*ṣarf*) refers to the three case endings; this may be contrasted with the views of Diem, *Z.D.M.G.* 125, 248, that the *n* suffix (and its Proto-Semitic correlative *m*) was once an integral part of the inflectional suffix and had nothing to do with definition. See further 3.87 n 3, 18.4 n 1.

(3) See 11.72 on proper names; 3.89 gives the types of proper names which are semi-declinable.

3.84 (1) See 3.5 n 2 on the transliteration *ī/ay*.

(2) 3.42. Another example: *ḡī* in the poem quoted in 1.51, made oblique by *bī* in the previous hemistich (q.v. 10.18 n 4).

(3) The rather clumsy translation is an attempt to preserve the structure of the Arabic *jārr wa-majrūr*, which in turn is a reflection

of the Arab analytical method: *jārr* is an active participle meaning 'oblique-maker' and *majrūr* is a passive participle meaning 'made oblique'. Together these form the elements of the function named by the verbal noun *jarr* '(the action of) making oblique'. What this triad implies (and which is clearly borne out by practice, see Carter, *J.A.O.S.* 93, 146-157), is that elements of utterances occur in pairs (binary units), one active, operating on the other, passive one (cf. 2.11). In many cases the function involves a particle, which itself is the active element, e.g. function 'negation' (*nafy*, verbal noun, 'action of negating'), active element *ḥarf nafy* 'particle of negation' (cf. 1.92 n 1), passive element *manfī* 'that which is negated' (passive participle from *nafy* 'negation').

(4) The oblique form *fī* 'mouth' underlies the preposition *fī* 'in', apparently contracted from *bi-fī* 'in the mouth of' (cf. 26.25).

3.85 (1) 3.43; paradigm at 4.5 n 1.

(2) On the spelling instructions see 3.71 n 2.

3.86 (1) 3.41.

(2) 3.72.

3.87 (1) *Jum.* 224; *Muf.* #18; *Alf.* v 649; *Qaṭr* 367; *Fleisch* 39, *Tr.* #55a. The best bibliography for this topic is by Diem, *Z.D.M.G.* 125, 257-8, to which add: *Fleisch, Tr.* #56c; *Lekiashvili, Arch. Or.* 39, 57-69; *Rabin in Arabic and Islamic Studies in Honor of H.A.R. Gibb*, ed. G. Makdisi, Leiden 1965, 547-62; *Vychychl, Muséon* 82, 207-12. Perhaps the attempt to find a single explanation for all the types of diptosis is not the best way: assimilative tendencies are very strong in Arabic and it is possible that more than one kind of irregularity has been combined into the same paradigm. See further 3.89 n 12.

(2) 1.41; aṣ-Ṣirbīnī is actually quoting al-Azharī, *Taṣr.* II, 210, where the reference is to the Commentary on the *Kāfiya* by Ibn Mālik (on whom see 1.02 n 2). Note yet another example of 'rational dichotomy' in the ensuing lines: further to 1.2 n 2, cf. now the description of the use of this procedure to determine the three parts of speech by B. Weiss, *Arabica* 23, 23-36. Cf. also van Ess in *Logic in Classical Islamic Culture*, ed. G. von Grunebaum, Wiesbaden 1970, 40f.

(3) Observe that there are degrees of declinability: (a) invariable (*mabnī*, cf. 1.41 n 4), e.g. *man* 'who', '*anā* 'I' and nouns with implicit inflection like *ḥublā* (4.2 n 2 (c)). (b) semi-declinable (*ḡayr munṣarif*, *ḡayr 'amkan*, cf. 1.41 n 1), e.g. *aḥmadu* 'Ahmad' and others listed in 3.89. (c) fully declinable (*mutamakkin 'amkan*, cf. 1.41 n 1), e.g. *rajulun* 'man', *farasun* 'horse' etc. Paradigms: fully decl. 4.11 n 1; semi-decl. 4.32 n 1; invariable 4.2 n 2 (and cf. 2.5 on implicit inflection).

3.88 (1) A close translation of *mawānī^c aṣ-ṣarf*, cf. *Muf.* #18; *Alf.* v 649; *Qaṭr* 367.

(2) Both the verses quoted here are among several of similar content

mentioned by as-Suyūṭī in *Aṣbāh* II, 28-30, but there is disagreement about the attribution to Ibn an-Naḥḥās: aṣ-Širbīnī follows as-Suyūṭī in attributing the first verse to Ibn an-Naḥḥās, but al-Azharī, *Taṣr.* I, 84 and II, 210 attributes the second verse to Ibn an-Naḥḥās. The source of the confusion may be Ibn Hišām, *Qaṭr* 368, where the text is rather ambiguous and could be taken to mean (as it was by Goguyer and evidently by al-Azharī as well) that Ibn an-Naḥḥās was the author of the second verse. The error is perpetuated by Howell (I, 31) and thence *Schaw. Ind.* 212 in assigning the second verse to Ibn an-Naḥḥās. One would like to know why aṣ-Širbīnī fails to comment on this slip by his principal source, al-Azharī.

The Ibn an-Naḥḥās in question is Bahā' ad-Dīn Abū ʿAbdullāh Muḥammad ibn Ibrāhīm, died 1299 (see *G.A.L.* I, 300), and was a pupil of Ibn Yaʿīš and a master of Abu Ḥayyān (q.v. 26.7 n 2). He lived in an age when versification of grammar was endemic (cf. 21.61 n 6). Needless to say, the translations offered here attempt no more than to list the categories by their most convenient English names!

3.89 (1) They are called the most extreme plural patterns because they embody the longest stem-forms permitted by Arabic prosodic structure (cf. 1.44 n 1), and are also termed 'patterns unique to the plural' (e.g. 3.65 (1)) because they never denote singulars (cf. 3.221 n 1). They are plurals of quadriliteral roots (cf. 10.37 n 1), either those with (a) four genuine radicals, e.g. *qindīlun* 'lamp', plur. *qanādīlu*, *jumjumātun* 'skull', plur. *jamājimu* (note reduplicated root), or (b) one or more augments treated as radicals, e.g. *masjidun* 'mosque' (prefix *ma* to trilateral root *s-j-d*), plur. *masājidu*, *šārūkun* 'rocket' (root *š-r-k* augmented by lengthening internal vowels), plur. *šawārīku*. Paradigm is as 4.32 n 1 (poetic licence, 13.13). Beeston 38; Fleisch 93.

(2) The suffix *ā'* is called '*alif mamdūda*, lit. 'stretched *ā*', to contrast it with the other fem. suffix *ā*, called '*alif maqṣūra*, lit. 'shortened *ā*'. Fleisch, 27, suggests that differences in stress may have caused the two to evolve from a common original. Both have fallen together with other word endings: *ā'* is, however, fully declinable when the ' represents an original weak 3rd rad. (*w* or *y*, cf. 3.62 n 2), *ā* is, of course, invariable whether as the fem. suffix or the reduction of a weak 3rd rad., as in *al-fatā*, 2.5, 4.2 n 2.

(3) The first element of these is uninflected, though in the earliest grammar there is evidence that they could be treated as annexed compounds, cf. *Kitāb* II, 49.

(4) The formulation is misleadingly brief: as well as natural feminine gender, this class embraces all proper names with the fem. marker *at* (11.42), including men's names (*ṭalḥatu*, 3.411), place names (*makkatu*, 11.721) and generic names (*'usāmatu*, 11.722). Cf. also 18.103.

(5) Of the four native prophets listed here, three are named in the Qur'ān as spiritual antecedents of the fourth, Muḥammad. On '*ibrāhīmu* see Jeffrey, op. cit. 3.412 n 3, 44.

(6) 'Measure' is literal for *wazn*, a near-synonym of *šūra* etc., 'form'

(11.712 n 2). These names were indeed originally verbs, e.g. *yaṭribu*, the ancient name of Medina, and see further Fleisch, Tr. #91. For common nouns in this pattern see 11.61 n 6.

(7) The *ān* suffix has various functions, e.g. dual (3.43 n 1), broken plur. (Fleisch 88, Tr. #60f), fully declinable adjectival suffix (see 3.89 n 11), as well as semi-declinable suffix here (Fleisch, Tr. #97).

(8) The anomaly refers to the pattern of the word (10.37 n 1), it being felt that these words are deviations from more regular patterns. Thus, in the present case, *ʿumarū* is regarded as a variety of the regular names *ʿamrun* 'ʿAmr' and *ʿāmīrun* 'ʿĀmir'.

(9) The distributives are in a class by themselves, with the patterns *mafʿalu* and *fuʿālū* (the latter also occurs in some anomalous proper names, e.g. *suʿādū* 'Suʿād', cf. previous note).

(10) This is homologous with the 1st sing. imperfect '*afḍalu* 'I exceed' but the forms are historically unrelated. This class comprises (a) adjectives denoting colours or bodily defects (3.411 n 7), e.g. '*aḥmaru* 'red', fem. *ḥamrāʾu*, comm. plur. *ḥumrun* (see 4.32 n 1), (b) 'relative' adjectives (20.4 n 1), e.g. '*afḍalu* 'best', fem. *fuḍlā* (4.2 n 2 (c)), both with sound plur. '*afḍalūna/fuḍlayātun* respectively.

(11) The work is lost, but the conditions may be simply stated: only those adjectives in *ān* which have their feminine in a different pattern (thus *sakrā* in the present instance) are semi-declinable. If they form their feminine with the regular suffix *at*, e.g. *ḥablānun* 'angry' fem. *ḥablānatun* they are fully declinable (cf. Fleisch, Tr. #55j).

(12) In other words they are fully declinable when formally defined. In most cases (types (3) to (9)) definition cannot be effected by prefixing the article *al*, but all can be defined by annexation (26.9) with greater or lesser plausibility (one may speak of 'the Mekka of the caliphs'), whereupon these nouns become completely regular. Behind this phenomenon doubtless lurks a partial explanation of the mystery of semi-declinable nouns: they are all, in one way or another, defined by nature, having an intensive or individualizing meaning. This being so, markers of indefiniteness are not found on them (except for the special case in 1.42), nor, by the same token, are markers of definition, unless for the purely external reasons outlined here.

3.9 (1) Termed *jazm*, lit. 'cutting off', possibly the clearest indication among the case/mood names that they refer to the sound (or perhaps the spelling) of the affected word, cf. 3.5 n 1.

(2) Elision (*ḥaḡf*, 3.73 n 2) in this context has two different consequences on the phonological level: (a) with the 'five verbs' the loss of the mood marker leaves a long vowel (see 3.93), (b) with the weak 3rd radical verbs the loss of the vowel lengthening marker leaves a short vowel (see 3.92 n 2). Both are regarded as 'elision' by the grammarians, because the problem for them is graphemic (cf. 2.43 n 2).

3.91 (1) Vowellessness (*sukūn*, see 4.01 n 1) is a negative marker,

i.e. it is only an inflection marker when it contrasts, as here, with other vocalic inflections. The vowellessness of invariable words with permanently unvowelled endings (cf. 1.41 n 4) is not inflection, nor is that of words in the 'pausal form' (2.14 n 2).

(2) For *lam* see 5.71. The change of tense after *lam* (imperfect tense acquires past tense meaning) has never been explained. Jouon (*M.U.S.J.* 6, 147) has suggested the following: in conditional sentences *lam* is the obligatory negative particle, thus the negative equivalent of both '*in qāma qumtu* 'if he stood I would stand' and '*in yaqum 'aqum* 'if he stands I will stand' is '*in lam yaqum lam 'aqum* 'if he does not stand I will not stand'. From such common hybrids as '*in qāma lam 'aqum* 'if he stood I would not stand' it came to be felt that *lam 'aqum* had a past tense reference, which was then generalized outside the context of conditional sentences.

3.92 (1) Paradigm of a typical weak 3rd rad. verb, active, imperfect tense, apocopated form, *ramā* 'to throw':

	sing.	dual	plur.
1st	' <i>armi</i>		<i>narmi</i>
2nd masc.	<i>tarmi</i>	<i>tarmiyā</i>	<i>tarmū</i>
fem.	<i>tarmī</i>		<i>tarmīna</i>
3rd masc.	<i>yarmi</i>	<i>yarmiyā</i>	<i>yarmū</i>
fem.	<i>tarmi</i>	<i>tarmiyā</i>	<i>yarmīna</i>

(2) The indep. forms of these verbs are prosodically *yad^Cuw*, *yaḡṣay* and *yarmiy* respectively (cf. 2.43 n 2 on vowel lengthening markers). Elision of the lengthening marker (i.e. the 3rd radical) leaves only a short vowel, usually homorganic with the missing semi-vowel. There are insuperable transliteration difficulties with *yaḡṣā*: its final *ā* is orthographically *ay*, always realized as *ā* in word final position and thus formally identical with the so-called 'shortened *ā*' in 1.702 n 1. Because the *y* here is effectively functioning as the 'alif which is the normal marker for *ā* (2.43 n 2), aṣ-Ṣirbīnī says that in *yaḡṣā* 'it is the 'alif which has been elided', though to our way of thinking it is *y* which has been elided.

3.93 (1) This time the elision is not of a vowel lengthening marker but of the mood marker *n* (realized as *na* and *nī*, 4.81 n 1), exposing the long vowel which is the agent pronoun in these verbs (see next note). A paradigm is in 4.82 n 2: comparison of the apocopated with the dependent forms (paradigm in 4.82 n 1) will show that both are the same in the 'five verbs' (q.v. 3.45 n 1).

(2) The segmentation is thus *ya-nṣur-ā-nī*, *ya-nṣur-ū-na*, *ta-nṣur-ī-na*; for the various elements see 5.3 (imperfect tense prefix), 7.8 n 1 (imperfect tense stem), 3.241 (agent suffixes), 3.44 (independence marker). The text omits *lam taṣṣurā* 'you two did not aid' and *lam taṣṣurū* 'you (masc. plur.) did not aid'. For *lam* see 5.71.

3.94 (1) See 5.33 on the absence of operators. Note that all the augmented stems (see 8.51 n 1) have the same sets of imperfect tense prefixes, agent suffixes (past and imperfect tense), and mood markers

as the simple verb, which is why Fleisch, 104, calls it 'la conjugaison commune'. This can be verified by consulting the tables of paradigms in the notes to 8.61-72, but note that the imperfect tense prefixes of some augmented stems are vowelised with u (cf. 5.31). A rule of thumb for the weak 3rd rad. verbs is as follows: in Stem I the medial vowel (10.22 n 2) determines the paradigm (4.81 n 2, 10.14 n 2). The characteristic vowel in all augmented stems, active or passive, will be *i* or *a*, conjugating like the relevant Stem I form.

(2) This excess of pedagogic zeal may perhaps be forgiven, especially since it has also inspired many of the annotations!

3.95 (1) S. 2 v 24. In order to make sense of this example it is worth quoting it in its context: 'If you are in doubt about what we sent down to our servant (i.e. the revelation of the Qur'ān), then bring forth a chapter like it ... If you do not do it - and you will not do it - then protect yourselves against the fire'. In his own Commentary on the Qur'ān, I, 34, aš-Širbīnī paraphrases *lan ta^Calū* by *lā yaqa^{Cu} dālika minkum 'abadan* 'that will not happen from you ever' (our italics), cf. his remarks on the possibility of perpetual negation through *lan* in 3.53 (and note that, in his paraphrase, the independent form of the imperfect tense is used with a future sense, cf. 5.02).

(2) Note the functional definitions here of *lam* (5.71) and *lan* (5.42), and cf. 1.91 n 2.

(3) See 5.81 n 3 on the term *maḥall* 'status'.

3.96 (1) This is the *n* which, according to the Arab analysis (16.301), preserves the final vowel of the verb from being displaced by the 1st sing. suffix *ī* 'my/me' (cf. 4.72 n 2), hence its name, the *nūn al-wiqāya*, lit. 'the *n* of preservation'. However, all the Semitic languages show the same alternation of *ī(ya)* on nouns and *nī* on verbs, and Moscati, #13.22, has suggested that perhaps this *n* has developed by analogy with the regular *n* of the 1st plur. suffix *nā* 'our/us'. A completely different explanation is offered by Fleisch, *M.U.S.J.* 44, 66, basing himself upon A. Denz, *Strukturanalyse der Objektsuffixe im Altsyrischen und klassischen Arabisch*, Munich 1962, 77, viz. that the 'preserving *n*' has detached itself from the emphatic *anna* suffix (3.241 n 2), e.g. **yaqtulannī* 'he will certainly kill me', expanded to *yaqtulannanī* by analogy with *yaqtulannanā* 'he will certainly kill us', exposing *nī* as a new form which was then generalized.

(2) S. 39 v 64. The full, regular form should be *ta'murūnanī*, but Arabic phonology favours assimilation when two identical consonants occur close together (cf. doubled verbs, 11.3 n 1), and indeed this is the only case in which the over-long syllable CVC is permitted (21.22 n 4). The possibilities are thus: *ta'murūnanī*, *ta'murūnnī*, *ta'murūnī* (var. *ta'murūniya*), to which K. Vollers, *Volkssprache und Schriftsprache im alten Arabien*, Strasburg 1906, 145, adds *ta'murūni* and *ta'murunni*, claiming that *ta'murūnnī* is an artificial hybrid. Cf. *tublawunna* in 2.101 n 4.

(3) *Schaw. Ind.* 169, with minor variants 'asrī 'I journey by night' for 'abkī 'I weep' and *jildaki* 'your skin' for *wajhaki* 'your face'. No author is known and no satisfactory explanation for the elisions has been offered. Ibn Jinnī consulted his master Abū ʿAlī al-Fārisī in vain (*Ḳaṣāʾiṣ* I, 388); al-Baḡdādī (*Ḳizāna* III, 526) can only reproduce Ibn Jinnī's confusion, and he adds that the Caliph ʿUmar was once heard to pronounce two verbs without their final *n* (viz. *yasmaʿū(na)* 'they hear' and *yujībū(na)* 'they answer'). But these may be early specimens of colloquial, which always elides this *n* (J. Blau, *The Emergence and Linguistic Background of Judaeo-Arabic*, Oxford 1965, has a possible eighth cent. example on p. 128).

(4) Treated in this translation as a separate chapter, though in the text it is only a *faṣl*, sub-section, of ch. 3.

4.0 (1) On uninflected words see 1.41 n 4. The earliest grammars take inflection for granted, and az-Zajjājī (d. 949) is perhaps the first to suggest that inflection may be a secondary development. He argues, without much conviction, that since uninflected Arabic is easily understood it must be logically prior to inflected Arabic, and that inflection only emerged among the Beduin when confusion became intolerable (*Īḍāḥ*, 67, also reproduced by as-Suyūṭī, *Aṣbāḥ* I, 76).

4.01 (1) By 'vowels', *ḥarakāt*, is always meant 'short vowels', of which there are only the three listed here and their allophones (cf. Cantineau, *Ēt.* 110, Fleisch, *Tr.* v. index). The term *ḥaraka* 'vowel' (see 0.4 n 3 for names of vowels) means lit. 'movement', and opposes *sukūn* 'vowellessness', lit. 'stillness'. Both are part of the earliest technical vocabulary of grammar; cf. *E.I.* (2), art. 'Ḥaraka wa-sukūn'; Drozdik, *J.M.S.* 5, 73f; Versteegh 22. See 3.0 n 2 on 'regular way'.

4.02 (1) Long vowels and diphthongs are orthographically short vowels followed by the consonants ʾ, w and y (2.43 n 2), which act as *matres lectionis* for the normally unwritten short vowel signs. It is thus not improper to treat long vowel inflection as consonantal, though Fleischer (*KL. Schr.* II, 103-4) did not hesitate to dismiss this convention as 'unnatural'.

4.1 (1) Note that 'inflection' applies to verbal mood as well as to nominal case (2.2).

4.11 (1) Paradigms of masc. *ar-rajulu* 'the man' and fem. *al-mar'atu* 'the woman':

	defined	annexed	undefined	pausal
indep.	<i>ar-rajulu</i>	<i>rajulu</i>	<i>rajulun</i>	<i>rajul</i>
dep.	<i>ar-rajula</i>	<i>rajula</i>	<i>rajulan</i>	<i>rajulā</i>
obl.	<i>ar-rajuli</i>	<i>rajuli</i>	<i>rajulin</i>	<i>rajul</i>
indep.	<i>al-mar'atu</i>	<i>mar'atu</i>	<i>mar'atun</i>	<i>mar'a(h)</i>
dep.	<i>al-mar'ata</i>	<i>mar'ata</i>	<i>mar'atan</i>	<i>mar'a(h)</i>
obl.	<i>al-mar'ati</i>	<i>mar'ati</i>	<i>mar'atin</i>	<i>mar'a(h)</i>

Assimilation of def. art. 11.41 n 2; pausal form 2.14 n 2; pausal fem. suffix at 11.42 n 1; alternation of *mar'atu/imra'atu* 19.72 n 4.

All fully declinable adjectives are in this class, e.g. *muslimun* 'male Muslim', *muslimatun* 'female Muslim', there being no morphological distinction between nouns and adjectives (but see 11.61 n 1).

(2) See 3.52 n 3 for this convention, and note that, as elsewhere in this paragraph, it is not always observed.

4.12 (1) See 3.22; syntax of broken plural 4.12 n 3.

(2) Paradigm of typical broken plural, *rijālun* 'men':

	defined	annexed	undefined	pausal
indep.	<i>ar-rijālu</i>	<i>rijālu</i>	<i>rijālun</i>	<i>rijāl</i>
dep.	<i>ar-rijāla</i>	<i>rijāla</i>	<i>rijālan</i>	<i>rijālā</i>
obl.	<i>ar-rijāli</i>	<i>rijāli</i>	<i>rijālin</i>	<i>rijāl</i>

Some broken plurals are formally feminine, regardless of the singular gender (mostly masc. however), e.g. *ṭalabatun* 'male students' (sing. *ṭālibun*), 'as'ilatun 'questions' (sing. *su'ālun*). These decline exactly as the fem. sing., 4.11 n 1. Conversely some formally fem. nouns have formally masc. broken plurals, e.g. *qiṭaʿun* 'pieces' (sing. *qiṭʿatun*), but see next note. Discongruence in the numbers 3 to 10 may be related to this phenomenon, v. 20.22 n 1.

(3) Syntactically, broken plurals fall into two classes, humans and non-humans. Humans are plural, take plural verbs, adjectives and pronouns; non-humans are fem. sing. and take fem. sing. verbs, adjectives and pronouns (possibly reflecting an original collective function of the broken plural). There are frequent exceptions to this rule. Cf. *Muf.* #270; Fléisch 170; Yushmanov 68; chs. 7, 9, 11 passim.

(4) Unless the particular pattern is only semi-declinable, e.g. *masājida* 'mosques' (dep. and obl.), cf. 3.89 (1).

4.13 (1) See 3.23, 4.31.

(2) Paradigm of typical sound fem. plur. *muslimātun* 'female Muslims':

	defined	annexed	undefined	pausal
indep.	<i>al-muslimātu</i>	<i>muslimātu</i>	<i>muslimātun</i>	<i>muslimāt</i>
dep./	<i>al-muslimāti</i>	<i>muslimāti</i>	<i>muslimātin</i>	<i>muslimāt</i>
obl.				

Dep. and obl. cases neutralized, as in sound masc. plur., 4.6 n 1.

(3) Notice that some nouns have both sound and broken plurals. This is especially common with proper nouns. Cf. also 3.221 n 2, 11.43 n 2.

(4) Verbs are conventionally quoted in the 3rd masc. sing. past tense, see 3.52 n 3.

(5) This refers to the *t* of *hindātu*, for which see 4.31 n 1. The *t* of *jā'at* is also a fem. morpheme, q.v. at 1.83, 5.01.

4.14 (1) See 3.24. Complete paradigms at 4.4 n 5, including the suffixed forms mentioned in this paragraph.

(2) See 3.241. Since these are suffixed directly to the last radical of the verb no overt inflection is possible.

4.2 (1) This pedantry is not aš-Širbīnī's own, but is taken from al-Azharī (Āj. 25). Nevertheless it does clarify the misleading implications of Ibn Ājurrūm's excessive concision.

(2) For convenience are inserted here the three types of noun which, for phonological reasons, have partially or totally implicit inflection: (a) *al-qāḍī* 'the judge':

	defined	annexed	undefined	pausal
indep.	<i>al-qāḍī</i>	<i>qāḍī</i>	<i>qāḍin</i>	<i>qāḍī</i>
dep.	<i>al-qāḍiya</i>	<i>qāḍiya</i>	<i>qāḍiyan</i>	<i>qāḍiyā</i>
obl.	<i>al-qāḍī</i>	<i>qāḍī</i>	<i>qāḍin</i>	<i>qāḍī</i>

Phonology 2.6; dual 4.5 n 1; plural is either sound *qāḍūna* v. 4.6 n 1, or broken *quḍātun*, cf. 4.12 n 2 and 4.31 n 1.

(b) *al-fatā* 'the boy':

	defined	annexed	undefined	pausal
	<i>al-fatā</i>	<i>fatā</i>	<i>fatān</i>	<i>fatā</i>

in all three cases. Phonology 2.5; dual 4.5 n 1; plural is broken, either *fityānun* or *fityatun*, cf. 4.12 n 2.

(c) *ḥublā* 'pregnant':

	defined	annexed	undefined	pausal
	<i>al-ḥublā</i>	<i>ḥublā</i>	<i>ḥublā</i>	<i>ḥublā</i>

in all three cases. All the words in this class bear the invariable fem. suffix *ā*; they include fem. adjectives, e.g. *kubrā* 'greatest' (20.4 n 1), fem. sing. nouns, e.g. *ḍikrā* 'memory' (24.54 n 2) and broken plurals, e.g. 'asārā 'prisoners' (3.52).

4.31 (1) See 3.23, 3.231. It is generally agreed that the sound fem. plur. originated in the lengthening of the fem. sing. suffix *at* (q.v. at 11.42 n 1) to *āt* (Moscatti #12.52). Like the sound masc. plur. (4.6 n 1), the three cases have been reduced to an opposition of indep. and dep./obl., but, unlike the sound masc. plur., the sound fem. plur. retains the complementary distribution of the definite article prefix *al* and the indefinite suffix *n* (cf. 1.4, 1.5).

N.B. In our transcription *āt* may occasionally represent the fem. sing. or plur. of 3rd weak rad. nouns, e.g. *fatātun* 'a girl' (**fatayatun*, fem. of *fatan*), *quḍātun* 'judges' (**quḍayatun*, plur. of *qāḍin*). But there is no confusion in the Arabic script (see 11.42 n 1), and naturally these forms have normal fem. sing. inflection.

4.32 (1) See 3.87-89. Paradigm of a typical semi-declinable noun, masc. sing., 'aḥmaru 'red':

	defined	annexed	undefined	pausal
indep.	<i>al-'aḥmaru</i>	<i>'aḥmaru</i>	<i>'aḥmaru</i>	<i>'aḥmar</i>
dep.	<i>al-'aḥmara</i>	<i>'aḥmara</i>	<i>'aḥmara</i>	<i>'aḥmar</i>
obl.	<i>al-'aḥmari</i>	<i>'aḥmari</i>	<i>'aḥmara</i>	<i>'aḥmar</i>

Fem. sing. *ḥamrā'u* declines identically, as do all types listed in 3.89, but the common plur. *ḥumrun* is regular, as in 4.12 n 2.

(2) In fact, the allomorph *a* is found only in the undefined state (cf. 3.89 n 12). A perhaps less obvious irregularity is in the pausal forms: these nouns never have final *n* (1.41), hence the dep. form lacks the *ā* ending of the regular nouns (cf. *rajuḷā*, 4.11 n 1).

Fem. semi-declinable nouns with the fem. suffix *at* decline exactly as above, but because of the special nature of *at* (11.42 n 1), pausal forms are the same as the regular fem. noun at 4.11 n 1.

4.33 (1) Cf. 2.43, 3.92.

4.4 (1) i.e. there are also three types of nouns and one of verbs which inflect with short vowels, as listed in 4.11-14. For the meaning of 'consonants' in this context, see 4.02.

(2) Paradigms at 4.5 n 1.

(3) Paradigms at 4.6 n 1.

(4) 3.42. Paradigms at 4.71 n 1.

(5) 3.45. Paradigm of the sound verb, imperfect tense, indep. form, root *ḍaraba* 'to strike':

	sing.	dual	plur.
1st	<i>'aḍribu</i>		<i>naḍribu</i>
2nd masc.	<i>taḍribu</i>	<i>taḍribāni</i>	<i>taḍribūna</i>
2nd fem.	<i>taḍribīna</i>		<i>taḍribna</i>
3rd masc.	<i>yaḍribu</i>	<i>yaḍribāni</i>	<i>yaḍribūna</i>
3rd fem.	<i>taḍribu</i>	<i>taḍribāni</i>	<i>yaḍribna</i>

Dep. forms 4.82 n 1; apoc. forms 4.82 n 2; with object suffixes 16.306 n 1. Derived stems (8.51 n 1) have the same prefixes and suffixes.

Weak 1st rad. 10.67 n 1; hollow verbs 10.23 n 2; weak 3rd rad. 4.81 n 2; doubled verbs 11.3 n 1.

Syntax of indep. verb 5.33 and ch. 7 passim.

Note that 2nd sing. masc. and 3rd sing. fem. are always the same, likewise 2nd dual common and 3rd dual fem.

4.5 (1) See 3.43, 3.63-65. Paradigm of typical dual *rajuḷāni* '2 men':

	defined	annexed	undefined	pausal
indep.	<i>ar-rajuḷāni</i>	<i>rajuḷā</i>	<i>rajuḷāni</i>	<i>rajuḷān</i>
dep./	<i>ar-rajuḷayni</i>	<i>rajuḷay</i>	<i>rajuḷayni</i>	<i>rajuḷayn</i>
obl.				

Subject to 3.65, the dual suffix is attached directly to final sound radicals (as above) and to the fem. *at* suffix: *al-imra'atāni* etc. 'the 2 women'.

Weak 3rd rad. *y* behaves regularly, e.g. *al-qāḍiyāni* 'the 2 judges'

(sing. **al-qāḍiy*, cf. 2.6), *al-fatayāni* 'the 2 boys' (sing. **al-fatay*, cf. 2.5). Weak 3rd rad. *w* becomes *y* to avoid the non-canonical sequence

iw, e.g. *al-ḡāziyāni* 'the 2 raiders' (sing. **al-ḡāziw*, cf. 2.6 n 2). Exceptions: Wright I, 188, Rem. b.

The fem. suffix *ā* ' replaces ' with *w* as glide-vowel, e.g. *ṣaḥrāwāni* '2 deserts' (sing. *ṣaḥrā'u*, 3.89 (2)); likewise *al-ḥamrāwāni* 'the 2 red ones (fem.)' (sing. *al-ḥamrā'u*), cf. 3.62 n 2.

The fem. suffix *ā* (= **ay*, 1.702 n 1) is regular, e.g. *al-hublayāni* 'the 2 pregnant ones', *dikrayāni* '2 memories'.

(2) Cf. *lafẓ* in 1.11.

(3) 3.64 n 3.

4.6 (1) See 3.41-412. Paradigm of sound masc. plur. *muslimūna* 'Muslims':

	defined	annexed	undefined	pausal
indep.	<i>al-muslimūna</i>	<i>muslimū</i>	<i>muslimūna</i>	<i>muslimūn</i>
dep./	<i>al-muslimīna</i>	<i>muslimī</i>	<i>muslimīna</i>	<i>muslimīn</i>
obl.				

Weak 3rd rad. nouns (2.5-7) have the following peculiarities: the sequence *i* + weak rad. is lost, e.g. *al-qāḍūna* 'the judges' (from **al-qāḍiyūna*), dep./obl. *al-qāḍīna* (from **al-qāḍiyīna*), cf. 2.31 n 4. The sequence *a* + weak rad. forms a diphthong with the suffixes *ūna* and *īna* (= *uwna*, *iyna*, 2.43 n 2). Paradigm of *musammā* (= **musammay*) 'named':

	defined	annexed	undefined	pausal
indep.	<i>al-musammawna</i>	<i>musammaw</i>	<i>musammawna</i>	<i>musammawn</i>
dep./	<i>al-musammayna</i>	<i>musammay</i>	<i>musammayna</i>	<i>musammayn</i>
obl.				

This is a passive participle; the active *musammī* follows the rules for *qāḍī*, e.g. *musammūna* etc., while the duals of both active and passive are regular, e.g. *musammīyāni*, *musammayāni* (4.5 n 1).

(2) 3.64 n 3.

4.71 (1) Paradigm of the sing. 'abun 'a father':

	defined	annexed	undefined	pausal
indep.	<i>al-'abu</i>	' <i>abū</i>	' <i>abun</i>	' <i>ab</i>
dep.	<i>al-'aba</i>	' <i>abā</i>	' <i>aban</i>	' <i>abā</i>
obl.	<i>al-'abi</i>	' <i>abī</i>	' <i>abin</i>	' <i>ab</i>

The abnormality of the nouns in this group appears in their singular annexed forms (cf. 3.421), and may perhaps be explained as due to pressure of the trilateral system upon primitive biliteral roots (cf. 10.37 n 1). Certainly the duals and plurals of these nouns show the restoration of a hypothetical third radical, e.g. '*abawāni* '2 fathers', '*aḵawāni* '2 brothers' (both with *w* as surrogate third radical), '*ābā'un* 'fathers' (for alternation of *w* and ' see 3.62 n 2), '*afwāhun* 'mouths' (this time with *h* as the surrogate radical). There is little doubt that many trilateral roots are expansions of biliterals, but no-one has yet established whether the latter represent a more primitive stage of the language; cf. bibliography in Moscati, 179, and see Fleisch 239 (Tr. #52), Yushmanov 34, Nöldeke 14, Rabin, *Anc. West-Ar.* 71 (expansion of biliteral roots by gemination, e.g. '*abb*', '*aḵḵ*' etc.) Another type of

Systemzwang: 3.412 n 9.

4.72 (1) An exception to 3.421 is the expression *lā 'abā laka* lit. 'you have no father', i.e. 'you bastard!'. After *lā* 'no' we should have '*aba* (cf. 22.12), but the form '*abā* is preferred apparently because it is felt that '*abā* is virtually annexed to the pronoun *ka* in *laka* 'belonging to you'. The fully annexed equivalent *lā 'abāka* is, in fact, known (Reck., Ar. Synt. 119 n 1); the expression *lā 'aḳā lahu* 'he has no brother' in 13.11 is of the same kind.

(2) Since aš-Širbīnī nowhere deals comprehensively with the possessive pronoun suffixes, they are tabulated here:

	sing.	dual	plur.
1st	-ī		-nā
2nd masc.	-ka		-kum
2nd fem.	-ki	-kumā	-kunna
3rd masc.	-hu		-hum
3rd fem.	-hā	-humā	-hunna

With the exception of the 1st sing. (see 16.301 n 1) these are all the same as the object pronoun suffixes (16.301-312). From the Arab point of view the noun possessed is annexed to one of these pronouns: thus '*abū-ka* is really 'the father of you', structurally identical with '*abū zaydin* 'the father of Zayd' (cf. 26.7 n 3). Naturally these suffixes are in complementary distribution with *al* 'the' and *tanwīn* (v. 26.93 n 1). Further on the *ī* suffix see 3.421 n 3, 23.6.

4.73 (1) 3.421. See 5.81 n 3 on *maḥall* 'status' here.

4.81 (1) Though this *n* is realized as *na* or *nī* we do not have here an 'archimorpheme' in the Western sense, merely the result of a spelling convention which names only the characteristic consonant (see 3.5 n 2).

(2) The paradigm of the sound verb, active, imperfect tense, indep. form is at 4.4 n 5. Here follow verbs with 3rd rad. *w* or *y* (see 10.22 n 2 for variations in stem vowel):

	sing.	dual	plur.
(a) <i>kašiya</i> 'to fear':			
1st	'aḳšā		naḳšā
2nd masc.	taḳšā		taḳšawna
2nd fem.	taḳšayna	taḳšayāni	taḳšayna
3rd masc.	yaḳšā	yaḳšayāni	yaḳšawna
3rd fem.	taḳšā	taḳšayāni	yaḳšayna
(b) <i>ramā</i> 'to throw':			
1st	'armī		narmī
2nd masc.	tarmī		tarmūna
2nd fem.	tarmīna	tarmiyāni	tarmīna
3rd masc.	yarmī	yarmiyāni	yarmūna
3rd fem.	tarmī	tarmiyāni	yarmīna
(c) <i>gāzā</i> 'to raid':			
1st	'aḡzū		naḡzū
2nd masc.	taḡzū		taḡzūna
2nd fem.	taḡzīna	taḡzuwāni	taḡzūna

	sing.	dual	plur.
3rd masc.	<i>yağzū</i>	<i>yağzuwāni</i>	<i>yağzūna</i>
3rd fem.	<i>tağzū</i>	<i>tağzuwāni</i>	<i>yağzūna</i>

Dep. forms 4.82 n 1; apoc. forms 3.92 n 1; past tense 10.14 n 2.

4.82 (1) Paradigm of sound verb, active, imperfect tense, dep. form *ḡaraba* 'to strike':

	sing.	dual	plur.
1st	<i>'aḡriba</i>		<i>naḡriba</i>
2nd masc.	<i>taḡriba</i>	<i>taḡribā</i>	<i>taḡribū</i>
2nd fem.	<i>taḡribī</i>		<i>taḡribna</i>
3rd masc.	<i>yaḡriba</i>	<i>yaḡribā</i>	<i>yaḡribū</i>
3rd fem.	<i>taḡriba</i>	<i>taḡribā</i>	<i>yaḡribna</i>

Doubled (11.3 n 1) and hollow (10.23 n 2) verbs: stems unchanged by substitution of dep. morphemes, e.g. *yamurra*, *yamurna*, *yakūna* etc. Weak 3rd rad.: indep. *ī*, *ū* become *iya*, *uwa* (e.g. *yarmiya*), indep. *ā* remains unchanged (*yaḡṣā*); otherwise as for sound verb (*taḡzī* etc.).

(2) Paradigm of sound verb, active, imperfect tense, apocopated form *ḡaraba* 'to strike':

	sing.	dual	plur.
1st	<i>'aḡrib</i>		<i>naḡrib</i>
2nd masc.	<i>taḡrib</i>	<i>*taḡribā</i>	<i>*taḡribū</i>
2nd fem.	<i>*taḡribī</i>		<i>taḡribna</i>
3rd masc.	<i>yaḡrib</i>	<i>*yaḡribā</i>	<i>*yaḡribū</i>
3rd fem.	<i>taḡrib</i>	<i>*taḡribā</i>	<i>yaḡribna</i>

Dep. and apoc. forms are the same in the 'five verbs' (marked with *, see 3.45), the two fem. plur. forms show no mood distinctions at all, and the 2nd sing. masc. and 3rd sing. fem. are always identical (4.4 n 5): thus only 24 out of 39 possible forms exist.

Doubled verbs (11.3 n 1) either neutralize all distinction between apoc. and dep. forms (*'amurra*, *tamurra* etc.), or dissimilate when the final radical is unvowelled, e.g. *'amrur*, *tamrur* etc.).

Hollow verbs (10.23 n 2) have short stems when the final radical is unvowelled (*'akun*, *takun* etc.), and the remainder are in any case identical with the dep. forms (*takūnī*, *takūnā* etc.).

Weak 3rd rad. verbs: see 3.92 n 1.

(3) See 3.44 for these agent pronouns.

(4) The work is lost; see Ibn Yaḡīš or Howell on *Muf.* #405 or the commentaries on *Alf.* v 44 instead.

4.9 (1) Following al-Azharī, *Āj.* 26. By treating elision of *'*, *w*, *y* and *n* as a single item az-Zajjājī (*Jum.* 21) makes it nine; he also arrives at fourteen by redistributing them (with repeats) into the four morpheme classes (cf. 3.3), i.e. as set out by aṣ-Ṣirbīnī in 3.0.

(2) Dependence operators 5.4-6; apocopating operators, 5.7-94.

(3) For invariability (*bīnā*) see 1.41 n 4.

5.0 (1) *Jum.* 21; *Muf.* #402; *Qaṭr* 14; Beeston 71; Fleisch 104; Bateson 23; Yushmanov 47; *E.I.* (2), art. 'FiC1' (add to bibliography: K. Aartun, *Zur Frage altarabischer Tempora*, Oslo 1963; A. A. Bulos, *The Arabic Triliteral Verb*, Beirut 1965; Fleisch, in *Mélanges d'Islamologie* vol. dédié ... à A. Abel, ed. P. Salmon, Leiden 1974, I, 28; G. Schramm, *Lang.* 38, 360). 'Verb' renders *fiC1*, lit. 'act, action', see 16.1 n 1.

5.01 (1) *māḍī*, lit. 'having elapsed'. The definition that we have here (and cf. also 1.21) illustrates clearly the penetration of Greek categories into Arabic grammar (see the discussion in Versteegh 140), which can be seen as early as az-Zajjājī, *Jum.* 21. The problem of the Arabic tenses is complex, however: some points of certainty are (a) the formal categories enumerated by Ibn Ājurrūm (and cf. 1.24) are not three tenses, but a relic of the original Semitic aspectual system (v. Moscati #16.28 and esp. #16.31, also Beeston 76, Fleisch 111); (b) no Arab classification exploits the full possible range of four distinct categories, viz. past, imperfect, future (= imperfect with prefix *sa* or *sawfa*, 1.82) and imperative, probably because the future is often expressed by the unmarked imperfect anyway (5.02); (c) Sībawayhi's grouping uses formal, functional and aspectual criteria to arrive at a classification entirely his own, viz. (i) 'constructed for what has elapsed' (*buniyat li-mā maḍā*), (ii) 'what is going to be and has not happened' (*mā yakūnu wa-lam yaqaC*, note imperf. tense *yakūnu* in future meaning), which includes both the imperative and the unmarked imperf. with future meaning, (iii) 'what is being, not having ceased' (*mā huwa kā'inun lam yanqaṭiC*, note agent noun *kā'inun* with participial meaning) i.e. the imperfect tense proper (all *Kitāb* I, 2, and cf. Troupeau, *G.L.E.C.S.* 9, esp. 46 on relative insignificance of absolute time, *zamān*, to Sībawayhi). Contrast Aartun, op. cit. 5.0 n 1, esp. 111, which is an attempt to demonstrate that the Arabic verbal system is wholly time-based. Further on aspect: Fleisch, *Arabica* 21, 11.

(2) See 11.42 n 1 on the feminine *t* in nouns.

(3) See 22.4 on the syntax of this phrase.

(4) Necessary self-justification because 5.01 is largely a verbatim repetition of 1.83.

5.02 (1) The grounds of the similarity are discussed in the ensuing lines, but it is worth pointing out that the term *muḍāriC* 'similar, resembling', was not originally restricted to the imperfect tense verb, but (in the *Kitāb*, for example) was used to denote any formal similarity between elements of all kinds (v. Troupeau, *Lexique-Index*, *ḍ-r-C*).

(2) The formal similarity is that both nouns and imperfect tense verbs share the inflections *u* and *a* (cf. 2.2). Arabs argue synchronically that the inflection of the verb is logically secondary (e.g. *Inṣāf*, prob. 73), while the Western, diachronical view is that inflection of verbs is historically secondary (e.g. Brockelmann, *Grundr.* I, 554). Sībawayhi (*Kitāb* I, 3) sees the 'similarity' as functional, in that the imperfect tense verb is interchangeable with the agent noun in 'inna ^Cabda llāhi la-yaf^Calu/la-fā^Cilun 'Abdullāh is doing', with the added resemblance that the predicate marker *la* (13.6 n 4) can be prefixed to imperfect tense, but not past tense verbs. Finally there is the possibility of making both nouns and imperfect tense verbs more specific by prefixes: *al* 'the' on nouns (11.74), the future markers *sa* and *sawfa* on verbs (1.82). Bateson 25 seems to imply that imperfect tense verbs are 'similar' because they have partly nominal inflection, but this is, of course, the wrong way round. Cf. also Versteegh 78.

(3) On 'syntactical combination' (*tarkīb* and 'meaning' (*maʿnā*) in that context cf. 2.2 nn 5, 6, 20.6 n 3.

(4) S. 112 v 3, referring to Allāh in an oblique refutation of the divinity of Jesus. The choice of *lam* (5.71) of the particles which operate on verbs (v. infra) springs from the fact that it is one of the very few which can only be followed by a verb. The verbs *yaliḍ* and *yūlad* are peculiar in that the first radical is *w*, which is elided if the prefix vowel is *a* (5.31), thus **yawlid* > *yaliḍ*. If for any reason the prefix vowel is *u* (here because it is passive, 8.3) the *w* remains, but is now a vowel lengthener (2.43 n 2), thus *yuwlad* = *yūlad* (see further 10.67 n 1).

5.03 (1) '*amr*, lit. 'command', always positive in Arabic, since there is a separate structure for prohibitions (5.76). For Sībawayhi the imperative is aspectually in the same category as the imperfect tense denoting events not yet happening (5.01 n 1). Formally the imperative can hardly be anything but the apocopated verb minus its personal prefixes (paradigm at 7.82 n 1), which are redundant because this verb form is only ever used in direct address (cf. Bravmann, *J.Q.R.* (NS) 42, 51). Beeston 84; Fleisch 107; Bateson 25; Yushmanov 53; see 5.2.

(2) It must also take the other agent pronouns (5.2). The reference to Sībawayhi is *Kitāb* I, 5 (and cf. Jahn, nn 53, 59 to #2).

(3) S. 19 v 26. See 5.2 n 3 on the forms.

(4) See 3.241 n 2.

(5) *ism fiʿl*, see 1.42 n 3.

(6) At this point the text of the *Ājurrūmiyya* usually illustrates the three kinds of verb thus: "e.g. *ḍaraba* 'he struck', *yaḍribu* 'he strikes', *iḍrib* 'strike'", which aš-Širbīnī redistributes through the following paragraphs. On *ḥukm* 'grammatical rule' see 24.1 n 2.

5.1 (1) *Muf.* #403; *Qaṭr* 15; Beeston 72; Fleisch 105; Bateson 24; Yushmanov 52. Paradigms 7.51 to 7.62. Ibn Ājurrūm's statement applies

only to the 3rd masc. sing. (see 5.03 n 6), which serves as the typical form of the verb for pedagogical purposes (and cf. 3.52 n 3).

(2) All verbs (also nouns, 10.37 n 1) are regarded as derived from three, less often four radical consonants expressing a particular root notion and which may be augmented, under strict rules, by up to three additional consonants (5.3 n 2), as long as the total does not exceed six. These consonants in effect constitute a stem, to which the appropriate vowels and consonantal pre- and suffixes may be added: the past tense agent pronouns are all suffixes, dealt with one by one in 7.51 et seq. For derived (i.e. expanded) verb stems see 8.51 n 1. The verb *istakraja* is six-lettered because the initial *i* vowel is notated with the consonant 'alif (a juncture feature, 5.2 n 3), hence the consonants are (')-(s)-(t)-k-r-j (augments in brackets).

(3) Cf. 2.31 n 4 on phonetic inconvenience. It is a long-standing belief that *a* is the 'lightest' vowel, cf. al-Mubarrad, *Muqtaḍab* III, 19.

(4) Orthographically *ḡarabū* is *ḡrbw'*, and the suffixing of *w* (= *ū*, see 2.43 n 2) entails the *u* on the last radical which is not, in the Arab view, an inflection but an invariable vowel. See 7.61 n 2 on final '.

(5) Lit. 'with triple *t*', referring to the suffixes *tu* 'I', *ta* 'you' (masc. sing.) and *ti* 'you' (fem. sing.). The other suffixes which are also attached directly to the unvowelled last radical (viz. all the duals and plurals) are taken for granted here, probably because they are regarded as derivatives of the singulars, cf. 11.717.

5.11 (1) For *laysa* see 10.18; *Ḥasā* 10.101 n 1. The verbs *niCma* and *bi'sa* are rare examples of retrogressive vowel harmony accompanied by loss of central vowel, thus **ba'isa > bi'isa > bi'sa* (cf. Rabin, *Anc. West-Ar.*, 97, where this is identified as an Eastern Arabic trait). See 20.7 n 2 on the syntax of *niCma* and *bi'sa*.

5.2 (1) See 9.4 n 3 on 'Baṣrans'. In *İnsāf*, prob. 72, the 'Kūfans' claim apocopation through synonymity with the indirect imperative verb with prefix *li* (5.75), while the 'Baṣrans' argue that there is no inflection because the necessary condition, similarity to nouns (5.02), is lacking in imperatives.

(2) i.e. the last radical is not *w* or *y*, which are dealt with later.

(3) Every syllable in Arabic must begin with a consonant (2.43 n 2), but only one, and if morphological processes cause a word to begin with two consonants (it will never be more than two), an extra syllable has to be created. In the formation of the imperative, the removal of the personal prefix *ta* usually leaves a consonant cluster (e.g. *ta-ḡrib*, *ta-nṭaliḡ* etc.), and this is resolved by prefixing the syllable '*i*', on the special nature of which see further 13.12 n 1. Note also that there is partial vowel harmony in this prefix: it is '*i*' if the vowels of the verb stem are *a* or *i*, but '*u*' if the internal vowel is also *u*, e.g. '*uktub* 'write!'. If the removal of the personal prefix does not expose a consonant cluster this procedure is unnecessary, as

with *kulī* (*ta'-kulī*, see 18.108 n 2) and *qarrī* (*ta-qarrī*, cf. 11.3 n 1) in 5.03. Regular paradigm in 7.82.

(4) See 3.92 n 2. Note that throughout this paragraph aš-Širbīnī cites the 3rd masc. sing. as the base form for the imperative: this is simply because the 3rd masc. sing. is always used for 'quoting' verbs (cf. 3.52 n 3).

(5) See 3.44 for these agent pronouns.

(6) Removal of the personal prefix leaves no consonant cluster with the 'hollow verbs' (10.23 n 2), viz. *ta-qūmu* etc., hence no additional syllable required as in n 3 above. The masc. sing. *qum* is likewise regularly derived from *ta-qum*.

(7) The fact that loss of *n* in the 'five verbs' (3.93) and elision of the lengthening marker in 3rd weak rad. verbs (3.92) are allomorphs of the apocopated ending must surely weaken the 'Bašran' argument that imperative verbs are not apocopated (5.2 n 1).

5.21 (1) It is doubtful whether *hāti* is in fact a verb, and Fleisch, Tr. #115q, argues quite positively that it is a combination of a deictic *hā* (cf. 11.735 n 1) and an element *ti* presumably related to that of *rubbata* etc. (1.83 n 3). Nevertheless a causative prefix *ha* does survive in some verbs (*harāqa* 'to pour', doublet of *'arāqa*, the normal Stem IV form, cf. 8.63 n 1, and Moscati #16.10), and perhaps *hāti* has been influenced by the existing causative verb *'ātā* (imperative *'āti* etc., cf. 5.82 n 5). Another deictic element which has become assimilated to the imperative is *halumma* 'come on, now', fem. *halummī*, etc., cf. Muf. #189; Fleisch 146, Tr. 115k; Rabin, *Anc. West-Ar.* 162.

(2) Naturally the other agent suffixes are understood (5.03 n 2). After a the fem. sing. *ī* (= *iy*, v. 2.43 n 2) reduces to *y* in *ta^Cālay* etc.

5.3 (1) The '*aḥruf al-muḍāra^{Ca}*', where '*aḥruf*', lit. 'consonants, letters in general' (cf. 1.11) clearly equates with the concept of morphemes. Moreover, as emerges from the subsequent discussion, these morphemes are not to be confused with the same consonants in different functions, viz. as radicals (cf. 5.1 n 2) in the quadriliteral words *narjastu* and *yarna'tu*, and as morphemes of a different class in '*akramtu* (where ' is the causative prefix, cf. 8.63 n 1) and *ta^Callamtu* (where *t* is a reflexive prefix, cf. 8.64 n 1). Nor are these augments themselves agent pronouns, see n 3 below.

(2) The later Arab grammarians are very fond of such mnemonic devices: the neatest is perhaps *sa'altumūnīhā* 'you (masc. plur.) asked me about them', which contains all the ten consonants (*s, ', l, t, m, w, n, y, h, ā*, thus including the two functions of the letter '*alif*, viz. ' and *ā*, see 2.43 n 2) which can be used as augments. One wry scholar has enshrined them in the sentence '*al-yawma tansāhu* 'today you will forget it' (e.g. Ibn as-Sarrāj, *al-Mūjaz fī n-naḥw*, ed. M. el-Chouémi and B. Damerdjī, Beirut 1965, 145; Muf. #671). Lane, 1276, s.v. *ziyāda*,

reports that over 130 mnemonics for these morphemes exist!

(3) Here, and at 7.4, 9.22, 11.71 only, the original periphrastic nomenclature of the 1st, 2nd and 3rd persons is reproduced literally (see 9.22 n 2 for the transliteration of the Arabic terms). Note especially that the morphemes listed here are not agent pronouns, as one might at first assume, but only markers of number and person: in the Arab analysis, agent pronouns appear either as overt suffixes (here the *ī*, *ū*, and *ā* of the 'five verbs', q.v. 3.44) or as 'concealed pronouns' (*ḍamīr mustatir*, 7.58 n 1, 7.8 n 1). In this the Arabs have gone further than, say, Trager and Rice, *Language* 30, esp. 226 (also Hamp, *Studies in Linguistics*, Buffalo, 14, 21), by assigning the agent function exclusively to the second element of a discontinuous morpheme.

(4) Since all the augments listed in n 2 above can also appear as full radical letters, it is of some consequence to be able to recognize in any given word which are its radicals and which are not. Dictionaries, for example, are invariably arranged according to radicals.

5.31 (1) 'First letter' here means the imperfect tense augment, not the first radical, nor any other augments associated with the stem (cf. 5.3 n 1). Only the active voice is meant here: for passive see 8.3.

(2) Quadriliteral verbs are (a) those with four different radicals, e.g. *daḥraja*, (b) reduplicated stems, e.g. *jaljala* 'to resound', (c) stems with single augment (q.v. 8.51 n 1). All three conjugate as augmented stems (see n 3); Beeston 73; Fleisch 127; Bateson 35.

(3) Quinquiliterals and six-lettered verbs are always augmented triliteral and quadriliterals, cf. 5.1 n 2: thus (augments in brackets) the verbs here are (')-(n)-ṭ-l-q (paradigm 8.66 n 1), (')-(s)-(t)-ḵ-r-j (paradigm 8.72 n 1). An augmented quadriliteral is, e.g. *tadaḥraja* 'to be overturned, (t)-d-ḥ-r-j, which has the same imperfect tense pattern as the triliteral paradigm in 8.64 n 1, viz. *yatadaḥraju* etc.

5.32 (1) See 3.241 n 1 on this morpheme and transliteration problems.

(2) The fem. plur. *na* is suffixed directly to the last radical of the verb, e.g. *yaḍrib-na* 'they strike', and the argument is that the lack of vowel on the *b* is not an instance of apocopation, i.e. the absence of vowel is not phonemic and the stem is uninflected (cf. 3.91 n 1).

(3) S. 2 v 228. The point of the example is that, if an overt agent precedes its verb, the latter is marked for the number and gender of the agent, in contrast with the rules for the usual verbal sentence, q.v. at 7.12 and cf. also 7.62.

(4) Both quotations are from S. 12 v 32. Though transcribed throughout as *anna* and *an* respectively (see 3.241 n 2), the *a* is not part of the suffix, and the verbs in the examples must be segmented *yusjana-*na** and *yakūna-*n**. Nevertheless, the *a* is not an inflection, cf. 5.1 n 3, 5.32 n 2. See further 26.34 n 2, also 13.6 n 3 on the prefix *la*.

5.33 (1) The concept of a 'main verb' exists by default, as it were,

as one of the implications of the 'zero-operator' (5.34 n 1). The independent inflection of the verb thus parallels that of the noun when it is free from operators (cf. 9.11). *Inṣāf*, prob. 73, deals with the disputes between the 'Baṣrans' and 'Kūfans' (9.4 n 3) on this topic: the substance of the Baṣran position is reproduced in 5.02 n 2, in the name of Sībawayhi, but it is interesting that one argument of the Kūfans has been incorporated unacknowledged into aṣ-Širbīnī's position, viz. the need for verbal inflection based upon variations in syntactic function. The other Kūfan doctrine, however, is perhaps more interesting: they speak of the need for inflection in verbs because imperfect tense verbs denote 'lengthy periods of time (of continuous duration)' (the last phrase is added from az-Zajjājī's paraphrase of the case in *Īdāh*, 80), and therefore resemble nouns in that both can refer to qualities inherent in an agent and only ceasing when the agent ceases to exist. Versteegh, 80, overlooks this aspect of the Kūfan theory, which certainly needs further exploration.

(2) This is the Kūfan view, Baṣrans favouring the predicative function as the reason for the verb's independence (*Inṣāf*, prob. 74). See 3.24 for the inflection markers involved, 3.44 for the 'five verbs'.

5.34 (1) Since inflection is produced by operators (2.1, 2.11), there must be an explanation for instances where no operator can be shown, principally the equational sentence (9.11) and the indep. imperfect tense verb. The solution was the notion of *tajarrud*, lit. 'being stripped bare', i.e. of operators, here translated 'absence of operators', and sometimes more specifically as 'freedom from the operators of dependence and apocopation', e.g. 3.24. In 9.01, 9.03 we find a synonym in the adjective *ʿārī*, lit. 'naked', i.e. 'devoid of operators'. This seems to have become an established technicality as early as al-Mubarrad (d. 898), cf. *Muqtaḍab* IV, 126. See also 3.24 n 2 and, for neutralization of operators, 5.431 n 3.

5.4 (1) *Jum.* 194; *Muf.* #410; *Alf.* v 677; *Qaṭr* 54; Beeston 84; Fleisch 198; Yushmanov 72; Nöldeke 70. The unanimous view reported by aṣ-Širbīnī is that of the 'Baṣrans' (9.4 n 3), hence it is the 'Kūfan' line which Ibn Ājurrūm here follows. Dep. paradigms 4.82 n 1.

(2) Here 'suppressed' renders *muḍmar*, lit. 'kept in the mind', mostly used in the narrower technical sense of 'pronoun', q.v. at 11.71 n 1.

5.41 (1) *Jum.* 206, 333; *Muf.* #411; *Alf.* v 677; *Qaṭr* 58; Beeston 92; Fleisch 201; Yushmanov 72. The spelling instructions (3.44 n 2) are needed to avoid confusion with 'in (5.81), 'inna (10.41), 'anna (10.42)!

(2) This translates *mawṣūl ḥarfī*: *mawṣūl*, lit. 'thing joined' is from relative clause terminology, denoting the element which 'joins' the relative clause to its antecedent (see 11.75 et seq.), while *ḥarfī*, lit. 'in the particle family' (see 11.721 n 4) distinguishes 'an from the set of nouns *allaḍī* etc. which introduce true relative clauses, q.v. 11.752. Both of these are nominalizers of their clauses, but see Spitaler, *Oriens* 15, 97, Yushmanov 73 for *allaḍī* in an apparently subordinating function (though Spitaler explains *allaḍī* here as

equivalent to 'iḍ 'lo', cf. 1.441 n 5, not to 'an).

(3) See 17.1 on the verbal noun (*maṣḍar*). The resulting nominalized clause now functions as a single noun (cf. 9.02).

(4) 'Positions' is literal for *mawāḍiʿ*, elsewhere 'functions' (3.1 n 4).

(5) S. 2 v 184, see 9.02.

(6) S. 57 v 16, cf. 7.02 n 3. After expressions of certainty the indep. verb is used, cf. Fleisch 199, and 5.413 n 4.

(7) S. 18 v 79.

(8) S. 30 v 43. As in many languages, prepositions usually subordinate sentences by means of conjunctions, in this case 'an: thus the word *qabli* is annexed to the noun phrase headed by 'an (cf. 26.73 n 2).

(9) Lit. the 'mother' of the whole category, one of the frequent anthropomorphisms encountered in Arabic grammar, cf. 6.4 n 2.

5.411 (1) S. 26 v 82. The verse refers to Allāh, and the lame English is designed to clarify the structure of the Arabic: the use of 'whom' here would obscure the fact that the clause 'that he should forgive' is the true direct object of 'I desire'.

(2) *Schaw. Ind.* 155, cf. also *Jum.* 199; Ibn ʿAqīl on *Alf.* v 693; *Qaṭr* 64. On the grammatical problem in general, see Carter, *Arabica* 20, 292.

(3) The analysis of this verse offers a good specimen of *taqdīr*, i.e. reconstruction of underlying forms (cf. 2.101 n 1). The issue on the formal level is that verbs cannot be coordinated with nouns by *wa* 'and', hence the verb *taḡarra* has to be nominalized by an assumed 'an (which accounts for the dep. form of *taḡarra* according to the 'Baṣran' interpretation), yielding an implicit noun phrase which is in turn equivalent to the verbal noun *qurratun* 'relaxation'. This verse and others like it are usually quoted in connection with an occasional function of *wa* in the meaning 'together with', when dependent forms of both nouns and verbs occur - see ch. 25 passim and 5.54 n 2, also references in n 2 above.

5.412 (1) *Jum.* 333; *Muf.* #570; al-Uṣmūnī on *Alf.* v 679; *Qaṭr* 60; Fleisch 145; Reckendorf, *Arab. Synt.* #193. The 'an *al-mufasssira*, of which 'explanatory 'an' is a literal translation, functions as little more than a colon (Fleisch loc. cit.) and is followed by direct speech. It is probably a relic of a time when 'an was simply a demonstrative element. Nöldeke 104 has an interesting anthology of examples.

(2) i.e. any verb of saying except *qāla* itself, for which there are special rules (10.64 n 1). For 'letters' in this context see 17.5

(3) S. 23 v 27; clearly 'an is not operating on the imperative verb *iṣnaʿ*, but neither is it entirely redundant as in 5.413.

5.413 (1) *Jum.* 333; *Muf.* #564; al-Uṣmūnī on *Alf.* v 679; *Qaṭr* 61. The name 'an *az-zā'ida* shows *zā'ida* in its meaning of 'redundant', cf. *ziyāda* in 3.231 n 2, where the same term means 'augment'. Other

examples: 20.5, 22.42.

(2) *lammā at-tawqītiyya* 'the *lammā* which fixes the point of time', to distinguish it from the negative, apocopating *lammā* 'not yet' (5.72). The temporal *lammā* has been explained as a combination of the prefix *la* (13.6 n 3) and an intensifying suffix *mā* (9.83 n 2), e.g. Fleischer, *Kl. Schr.* I, 455, Brockelmann, *Grundr.* II, 110. Beeston 99; Fleisch 206.

(3) S. 12 v 96, explained as reinforcing the completion of the event.

(4) In default of this work, the references in n 1 may be consulted. One item worth noting is the 'an which occurs after verbs of certainty and which takes indep. forms of the verb, e.g. *ʿalimtu 'an taqūmu* 'I knew that you were standing'. The Arabs explain this as a 'lightened' form of *'anna* (10.42). *Jum.* 206; *Muf.* #525; *Alf.* v 677; *Qaṭr* 61.

5.42 (1) *Jum.* 195; *Muf.* #549, 578; *Alf.* v 677; *Qaṭr* 55; Fleisch 201; etymology of *lan*, v. 3.53 and notes, and on negation of verbs in general see 5.76 n 1. The Qur'anic example here is S. 20 v 91.

(2) viz. in 3.53.

5.43 (1) *Jum.* 204; *Muf.* #594; *Alf.* v 680; *Qaṭr* 57; Beeston 99; Fleisch 206; Yushmanov 74; Nöldeke 106. This is part of a group of clearly related elements comprising '*iḍ*' (1.441) and '*iḍā*' (5.94) as well as '*iḍan*'. Brockelmann (*Grundr.* II, 594) supposes an original '*iḍ*' as a demonstrative adverb ('lo and behold!') which has acquired partial nominal inflection (dependent in '*iḍā*'/'*iḍan*', oblique in such compounds as *yawma'iḍin* 'on that day', *waḡta'iḍin* (a neologism) 'at that time'). The Arabs treat '*iḍ*' as a noun for purely formal reasons, though some traces of its deictic function can still be perceived (v. 1.441 n 5). See further n 3 below.

(2) 'Response' (*jawāb*) and 'requital' (*jazā'*) are both terms for the apodosis in conditional sentences (5.811), whose relevance aš-Širbīnī explains in the ensuing lines.

(3) It happens that '*iḍan*' is sometimes spelt as if it were an undefined, dep. noun (i.e. '*iḍā*', where *a* represents *an*, q.v. 1.4 n 5), and sometimes with an explicit *n*. The latter spelling gives rise to the illicit conjecture that '*iḍan*' is a compound of '*iḍ*' and '*an*' (on the analogy of *lan* from **lā-an*, 3.53). This is rejected by most Arab grammarians, including aš-Širbīnī, but Reckendorf, *Synt. Verh.* 745, argues firmly for the etymology *'*iḍ-an*', and goes so far as to claim that even the *in* ending of words such as *hīna'iḍin* 'at that time' (v. n 1 above) is not an undefined noun inflection (because '*iḍ*' is by nature definite), but is rather a relic of the particle '*inna*' 'verily' (10.41).

5.431 (1) The imperfect tense verb is indifferently present or future in reference (cf. 5.01 n 1): here an independent verb would have the meaning of a circumstantial qualifier (i.e. virtually a present participle, cf. 19.9 n 1). The dependent form, however, would mean '(You say you love me) and for that reason I shall believe you (this

once)', where the act of believing is logically and grammatically dependent on the main verb.

(2) This invokes a fundamental principle of Arabic syntax, namely that elements can only combine in the form of binary units (cf. 2.11 n 1), which are normally inseparable. Larger units do not occur, cf. the early statement of this rule in *Kitāb I*, 351, "three elements cannot have the status of a single noun" (see Carter, *J.A.O.S.* 93, 155).

(3) This is better expressed as a general principle: only inoperative elements may intervene between members of a binary unit (cf. Carter, *J.A.O.S.* 93, 156, for neutralization of space/time qualifiers). The inoperative element is termed *mulḡā*, lit. 'voided', from *laḡw*, a legal term meaning 'voiding, nullifying a law' (other examples 21.31, 22.31, and cf. Troupeau, *Lexique-Index*, root l-ḡ-w). A synonym is *muhmal*, lit. 'neglected' (cf. 5.722, *tuhmalu* 'is made inoperative'), used also for 'undotted' in orthography, q.v. 13.45 n 3.

(4) Although it may look as if 'anā intervenes, a comparison with the previous paragraph will show that the noun + verb phrase (7.12) is the dominant binary unit, in combination with which there is no available function for 'iḡan beyond that of an adverbial phrase, the latter being, by definition, structurally redundant (19.1 n 1).

(5) Cf. English 'abso-bloody-lutely' for the invasion of morpheme boundaries by oaths; other Arabic examples in A. Bloch, *Vers und Sprache im Altarabischen*, Basel 1946, 152.

5.432 (1) Since the examples are presented in dialogue form it is worth drawing attention to the fact that, even centuries after Classical Arabic ceased to be a spoken language (if it ever was, cf. Beeston 13, *E.I.* (2), art. 'Arabiyya'), the fiction is still kept up (most striking example is 14.4). References to writing are rather rare, except in grammars aimed at the secretarial class, cf. Ibn Durustawayh, *Kitāb al-kuttāb*, Kuwayt 1977, esp. p. 128.

(2) Clearly retaining its demonstrative meaning, 'iḡā also introduces nominal sentences after main verbs, with a notion of suddenness, e.g. *daḡaltu fa-'iḡā huwa jālisun* 'I went in, and there he was, sitting' (or: *fa-'iḡā bihi jālisun*, cf. 10.18 n 4). In this function it is called 'iḡā l-mufaḡja'a 'the 'iḡā of surprise'; *Muf.* #204; *Alf.* v 702.

(3) Alternatively '-k-r-m may be vocalized as 'akrama, 3rd sing. masc. past tense, following the convention described in 3.52 n 3.

5.44 (1) *Jum.* 194; *Muf.* #595; *Alf.* v 677; *Qaṭr* 56; *Fleisch* 203; it is called *kay al-maḡdariyya* because, like the 'verbal noun 'an' (5.41), it fuses with its verb to form a noun phrase equivalent to the verbal noun (see 17.1 on *maḡdar*, 'verbal noun').

(2) S. 57 v 23. On *li* see 5.51; as the transliteration implies, *li-kay-lā* is written as one word (see 5.76 n 1 on *lā* 'not'). The verb *ta'saw* has a 3rd weak radical *w*, and the underlying indep. form is **ta'sawūna*, with regular reduction to *ta'sawna*, cf. 4.81 n 2, where

table (a) is valid for this verb by substituting *w* for *y*, except for 2nd fem. sing., viz. *ta'sayna*.

(3) The speaker's intention (*niyya*) has always been a recognized determining factor, cf. 21.21 n 4. The listener (*muḳātab* or *sāmi*^C) likewise often affects the form of the speaker's utterance, v. 1.13.

(4) The status of *kay* was one of the disputes between 'Başrans' and 'Kūfans' (9.4 n 3). In *Inşāf* prob. 78 the Kūfans advance the simple view that *kay* operates entirely by itself, but the Başrans, justifiably perturbed by the overlapping distribution of *kay* and *li* (5.51) are moved to greater subtlety, and propose three solutions: (a) in *li-kay*, *kay* has the status of 'an (since *li-'an* also occurs), (b) in *kay* alone, either *li* has to be assumed, yielding type (a), or, (c) *kay* is a synonym of *li* and 'an has to be assumed. This may not solve the problem, but at least it recognizes that there is something to explain, viz. the series *li*, *li-kay*, *li-'an*, and the partial series *kay*, *kay-li* (rare, Nöldeke 71 n 1), but no *kay 'an*, all of which are synonymous. There is also a *kaymā/kaymah*, cf. 5.84 n 1.

5.5 (1) See 5.4. In *Inşāf* prob. 77 (and cf. *Muf.* #411) it is the 'Kūfans' who regard all ten operators of dependence as self-sufficient, and the 'Başrans' who must detect a suppressed 'an with the remaining six operators to be dealt with. On 'suppressed' (*muḍmar*) see 5.4 n 2.

5.51 (1) *Jum.* 195; *Muf.* #411, 413; *Alf.* v 682; *Qaṭr* 64; Beeston 98; Fleisch 203; Yushmanov 73. This *li* has two names, *lām at-ta^Clīliyya* 'the causative *li* (from *ḥilla* 'cause', q.v. at 24.22 n 1), and *lām kay*, an explanatory annexation (26.72) meaning 'the *li* which is like *kay*'. Note that, since *li* is a one-letter word, it is mentioned by the name of that letter, *lām*. It is not the same as imperative *li*, 5.75.

(2) *taḳlufuhā* lit. 'deputizes for it' (cf. 'caliph'), a very late addition to the stock of grammatical anthropomorphisms.

(3) S. 22 v 78. Other Qur'anic examples of the causative *li* are at 1.709, *li-tubayyina* 'that you might make clear' and 5.84, *li-taṣḥaranā* 'that you might bewitch us'.

(4) Verbs of the class of *kāna* 'to be' are quasi-copulatives which, instead of agents and direct objects, have subject-nouns and predicates (q.v. in 10.11). However, the predicates are still marked as direct objects, in dependent form, following the structure of the favourite sentence pattern, Verb-Agent-Direct Object, cf. 7.9 n 1, 15.06 n 1.

(5) Prepositional phrases are often extraneous to the minimal sentence, and the term *muta^Calliḡ*, lit. 'hanging from' has been developed (from an earlier, more general application to any kind of connection between elements, cf. Troupeau, *Lexique-Index*, ^C-l-q) to account semantically for prepositional phrases. See further 5.82 n 6.

5.52 (1) *Jum.* 195; *Muf.* #413 (see Ibn Ya^Cīš); *Alf.* v 683; *Qaṭr* 66. This is the same as the causative *li* in structure, and differs only in the restrictions on its use, as implied by its name, *lām al-juḥūd* 'the

li of denial' (see 5.51 n 1 on *lām* = *li*). Whether it is in fact redundant is a moot point: the 'Kūfans' claim that it operates without a suppressed '*an*' (cf. 5.5), the 'Baṣrans' only that the preposition *li* cannot operate on verbs without an assumed '*an*' (cf. *Inṣāf* prob. 79, 82).

(2) S. 3 v 179. The apparently past tense verb *kāna* here must be translated as some kind of highly affirmative present tense, e.g. 'has always been', or, in the present context, 'never has been and never will be': this usage is frequent in the Qur'ān and obviously represents the true aspectual nature of the 'past' tense (5.01 n 1), asserting that an event (here 'being') is real and factual. Cf. W. Reuschel in *Studia orientalia in memoriam Caroli Brockelmann*, Halle/Saale 1968, 147, and contrast Aartun, op. cit. 5.0 n 1, 55, 72; cf. 10.11, 12.902.

(3) S. 4 v 137. Here *lam yakun* means 'has never been', cf. n 2 above.

(4) The text says a negated *kawn*, which may either have the concrete sense of 'entity' or simply be the verbal noun of *kāna* and mean 'a negated verb "to be"'.
 5.53 (1) *Jum.* 201; *Muf.* #414; *Alf.* v 685; *Qaṭr* 67; Beeston 98; Fleisch 221; ḥattā as oblique operator 26.31; as coordinating conjunction 12.91; with indep. verbs Fleisch 222, and cf. 5.6 n 1.

(2) S. 13 v 31. The assumption of a compulsorily suppressed '*an*' is the 'Baṣran' theory (see *Inṣāf*, prob. 83, and cf. 5.5 n 1); see 5.4 n 2 on 'suppressed', *muḍmar*.

(3) The verb *ya'tiya*, with weak 3rd radical *y*, is regular in its dependent form, cf. 2.42 n 1, while the independent form (*ya'tī*, like *yarmī* in 4.81 n 2 (b)) and apocopated *ya'ti* (like *yarmi* in 3.92 n 1) are irregular, see 2.41 n 2 and 3.92 n 2 respectively.

5.54 (1) *Jum.* 202; *Muf.* #411; *Alf.* v 687; *Qaṭr* 71; Beeston 98; Fleisch 220; Nöldeke 71. The translation 'and then' for *fa* emphasizes that *fa* in this context is not a simple coordinating conjunction (v. 12.2). 'Conveying cause' renders *sababiyya*, lit. 'causal': see further 24.22 n 1 for the almost synonymous terms *ʿilla* and *sabab* 'cause'.

(2) *Jum.* 198; *Muf.* #411; *Alf.* v 688; *Qaṭr* 73; Fleisch 221. See ch. 25 on the so-called *wāw al-maʿiyya*, lit. 'the *wa* of Withness' (since *wa* is a one letter word it is referred to by the name of that letter, cf. *lām* 'l' for *li* in 5.51 n 1). Another example of this *wa* in 5.411.

(3) S. 35 v 36. Theologically the deaths are caused by the decree and this is reflected in the grammar (so aṣ-Ṣirbīnī, Qur'ān commentary III, 311). 'Pure negation' is *nafy maḥḍ*, (*maḥḍ* = 'racially pure'), i.e. 'unadulterated negation', see further 5.552.

5.55 (1) Called 'pure demand' (*ṭalab maḥḍ*, cf. previous note) because all are in effect imperatives (some, says Ibn Yaʿīṣ on *Muf.* #411, use the term 'imperative' alone to cover all seven). However, there are some exclusions, for which see 5.552 n 2. The somewhat unhelpful term *maḥḍ* 'pure' seems to date back no further than the *Alfiyya*, and may have been chosen for none better than metrical reasons.

(2) S. 20 v 81; *taṭṭāw* is another verb with 3rd weak radical, viz. *w*, and behaves exactly like *ta'saw* in 5.44 n 2 (with both dep. and apoc. forms having the same endings, cf. 4.82 n 2). For prohibition see 5.76.

(3) 'Invocation' renders *duḥā*, lit. 'calling upon', used commonly for 'private prayer' (in contrast to the prescribed daily ritual). See further 5.751, 752, where it has been translated 'request', to avoid the implication that the verbs in question are either prayers or optatives. (See 14.34 n 3 on optatives).

(4) *Schaw. Ind.* 259. The verse is anonymous and unknown to the earlier grammarians, which raises (not for the first time) the suspicion that it may have been coined to illustrate the grammatical point in question (cf. 13.12 n 1). Note that the negation of the verb through *lā* (5.76 n 1) does not interfere with the operation of *fa* in making it dependent. See 23.61 (a) on the vocative *rabbī*. Observe, too, how variants and alternatives can be freely inserted into the verse.

(5) *Schaw. Ind.* 71; this anonymous verse is quoted only by relatively late grammarians, though al-^CAynī, IV, 380, claims that it was cited by al-Farrā' (d. 822, see 1.21 n 2). Of the two dependent verbs with *fa* in the verse here only the first is in question, *fa*-*'arjuwa* 'that I may hope' (note dep. form of verb with 3rd weak rad. *w*, v. 2.42 n 1). The second verb, *fa*-*yartadda* 'that it may return' is explained as coordinated to '*an tuḡdā* 'that they might be ended' as a second direct object clause (cf. 5.41) of '*arjuwa* 'I may hope' (see 12.2 on *fa* as a coordinating conjunction). Nevertheless a reading in the spirit of subparagraph (g) below seems possible: 'that I may hope they will be ended and (as a result) some soul return ...'.

(6) *Schaw. Ind.* 147; yet another anonymous verse and, like the two before, not quoted by grammarians earlier than Ibn Hišām (d. 1360, see 1.02 n 1), though in each case aš-Širbīnī's immediate source is al-Azhari, *Taṣr.* II, 239. On the construction of *yā bna l-kirāmi* 'O son of nobles' see 23.44 and 23.7. 'Proposing' (*Ḥarḡ*, lit. 'laying before') exactly parallels the English 'will you not ...', for '*a-lā* is a compound of the interrogative prefix '*a*' (12.51 n 2) and the negating particle *lā* (5.76 n 1). The comparison of seer and hearer is rhetorically inverted: it means that the hearer knows much less than one who sees.

(7) S. 63 v 10. The verse continues: *wa-'akun min aṣ-ṣāliḥīna* 'and I might become one of the good', which the commentators treat together with the previous clauses. The possibilities are (from the Commentary of aš-Širbīnī, IV, 386): apocopated '*akun* as second apodosis of the pseudo-conditional *lawlā* '*aḵkartanī* (scil. 'if you granted ...', cf. 6.6 n 6); dependent '*akūna* in coordination to '*aṣṣaddaqa* as a second consequence of the initial 'incitement'; dep. '*akūna* reduced to '*akun* for phonological reasons ('*akūna min* > '*akūm-min* > '*akummin*, avoiding the over-long syllable *kūm* (cf. 2.5 n 3), '*akummin* being in any case the correct pronunciation of '*akun min* according to the rules of Qur'anic recitation). On the form '*aṣṣaddaqa* see Cantineau, *Études* 34, and cf.

Rabin, *Anc. West-Ar.* 147. In passing note that the construction evidently aroused the suspicion of Sībawayhi, who queried it with his master al-Ḳalīl (*Kitāb* I, 452).

(8) S. 4 v 73; this differs from the previous specimen only in that a specific 'particle of hoping' is used, q.v. at 10.45. Note the use of the vocative particle *yā* (23.0, and cf. 23.21) to intensify the exclamation, comparable to the English 'Oh' (but 'O' for vocative!).

(9) Once again the 'Baṣran' interpretation, see 5.5.

5.552 (1) 'Pure negation' (*nafy maḥḍ*, 5.54 n 3, 5.55 n 1) excludes also such double negatives as *mā tazālu ta'tīnā fa-tuḥadditunā* 'you never stop coming and talking to us', where the intrinsic negative meaning of *tazālu* 'you cease' (v. 10.19) is cancelled by *mā* 'not' (on *mā* with the imperfect tense see 5.76 n 1). By the same token *fa* takes indep. verbs when preceded by purely rhetorical negation, e.g. S. 22 v 63; 'a-lam tara 'anna llāha 'anzala min as-samā'i mā'an fa-tuṣbiḥu l-'arḍu muḳḍarratan 'Have you not seen how God has sent down water from heaven and the earth has become green?'.

(2) Here 'amr 'imperative' replaces ṭalab 'demand' used above, 5.54. The pattern *fa'āli* is highly obscure: there are invariable proper names in this form, e.g. ḥaḍāmi (23.411), and pseudo-imperatives such as *nazāli* here, which are interpreted as agent nouns (*fā'il*, 7.01) with an affirmative meaning, and are therefore excluded from the conditions under which *fa* operates as a subordinating conjunction. The form has been exhaustively studied by Canard, *A.E.I.O.* 1, 5-72, where he finds that *fa'āli* is an infinitival pattern. Rabin, *Anc. West-Ar.* 156 points out that this form has strong South Arabian and Ethiopic associations, and never was a true imperative. *Muf.* #193 distinguishes four types of *fa'āli* patterns, viz. two already mentioned above, one synonymous with verbal nouns and one anomalous (*ma'ḍūl*, 3.89 n 8) adjective type.

5.56 (1) *Jum.* 197; *Muf.* #411; *Alf.* v 684; *Qaṭr* 70; Nöldeke 71. For 'aw as a coordinating conjunction see 12.4. In spite of the paraphrases offered in the text, a conditional structure seems to be at least as probable as the assumed consecutive structure, and Nöldeke provides examples of apocopated (i.e. conditional, 5.81) verbs after 'aw.

(2) Note the use of the substitution principle: '*iḍā ṣaluḥa fī mawḍi'ihā*, lit. 'whenever ('*ilā* or '*illā*) can properly occur in its place' might easily be translated 'whenever it has the function of ...', cf. 3.1 n 4. On *ṣaluḥa* 'to be proper' see 11.82 n 2.

(3) *Schaw. Ind.* 107. On *la-'astashilanna* and *la-'aqtulanna* in the next paragraph see 13.6 n 3, 26.34 n 2.

(4) Not from the Qur'ān, but reminiscent of S. 48 v 16, *tuqātilūnahum 'aw yuslimūna*, with indep. *yuslimūna*, interpreted as a simple alternative, 'either you will fight them or they will become Muslims'. A variant, however, with dep. *yuslimū* exists, viz. 'you will fight them or (= unless) they become Muslims' (so al-Bayḍawī ad loc.).

(5) The text omits 'udrika; note that the weak 3rd rad. verb *yaqḍiya* is regular in the dep. form (2.42 n 1).

5.6 (1) His note (which is copied from al-Azharī, *Āj.* 47) simply reiterates the 'Baṣran' position (5.5). For prepositional *li* see 1.709, how *kay* functions as a particle of obliqueness is not clear, but see 26.1 n 7. There is no systematic treatment of *ḥattā* in this work, but see 26.31 for *ḥattā* as a preposition, and 12.91 for *ḥattā* as a coordinating conjunction. For the coordinating particles see 12.1 for *wa*, 12.2 for *fa* and 12.4 for 'aw.

5.7 (1) *Jum.* 215; *Muf.* #419; *Alf.* v 695; *Qaṭr* 74; Beeston 84; Fleisch 168 n 1; apocopated paradigms 4.82 n 2, 3.92 n 1. The actual number of apocoping operators varies according to whether *lam* and 'a-lam etc. are counted separately.

(2) This division at least serves to distinguish the conditional function of the apocopated form ('two verbs') from its other functions ('one verb'), but gives no idea of the diversity of functions of the single apocopated verb: negation after *lam* etc. (5.72-74), indirect imperative (5.75) and direct prohibition (5.76) are not an obviously homogeneous group, especially when the conditional function is taken into account. Almost the only semantic feature they have in common is that all denote one kind or another of non-event, a quality for which (at least within the Arabic framework) neither indep. nor dep. verbs are suitable: an equation non-event = zero morpheme is thus very tentatively suggested. (Is Fleisch 107 any more convincing?).

5.71 (1) *Jum.* 2.5; *Muf.* #419; *Alf.* v 695; *Qaṭr* 81; Beeston 99; an etymology *lā-mā is proposed by Reckendorf, *Synt. Verh.* 85, though it leaves the problem of *lammā* (5.72) unsolved (*lā-mā-mā seems unlikely).

(2) Why this is so is not known, but see 3.91 n 2 for Jouon's theory. In addition it may be remarked that there is, historically speaking, no reason why the 'imperfect tense' form should not have had a past tense meaning, as indeed is the case in some Semitic languages (cf. Moscati #16.30, Fleisch, *Tr.* 149w).

(3) S. 112 vv 3, 4; verse 3 has already been quoted in 5.02 as an illustration of *lam*, q.v. note 4 for *yaliḍ* and *yūlad*. On *yakun* see 10.11 for the syntax and 10.23 n 2 for the form.

5.72 (1) *Jum.* 215; *Muf.* #419; *Alf.* v 695; *Qaṭr* 81. This *lammā* is evidently a reinforcement of *lam* with the suffix *mā* (9.83 n 2), and is not related to the 'temporal *lammā*' at 5.413.

(2) S. 80 v 23. See 3.92 on *yaqḍi*.

5.721 (1) Since the whole of this paragraph is copied from al-Azharī, *Taṣr.* II, 247 (who in turn has it from al-Uṣmūnī on *Alf.* v 695, or perhaps from *Qaṭr* 82), it is more than likely that the relevant section of aṣ-Širbīnī's missing commentary on *Qaṭr* would likewise be close to al-Azharī, who goes on to summarize the difference between *lam* and *lammā* as follows: (a) only *lam* may be preceded by the conditional 'in

'if' (5.81); (b) the event negated by *lam* may subsequently be asserted, e.g. *lam yakun tumma kāna* 'it was not, and then it was', which is not possible with *lammā*; (c) the verb may be elided after *lammā*, e.g. *qārabtu l-madīnata wa-lammā* 'I approached the town, but had not yet (scil. entered it)'; (d) *lammā* presupposes the event might actually occur, cf. the counter-example **lammā yajtami*^C *iḍ-ḍiddāni* 'the two opposites have not yet united'. As a rule of thumb *lam* may be regarded as the negative of the past tense verb with 'static' aspect (Beeston 99), whether marked with *qad* or not (1.81 n 1), and *lammā* as meaning only 'not yet' (cf. Cantarino, I, 129).

5.722 (1) The phenomenon is exceedingly rare and possibly of interest only to grammarians. There are one or two more examples of *lam* followed by the dep. verb (cf. al-Uṣmūnī on *Alf.* v 695), but apparently only one specimen of 'an with an apocopated verb, viz. 'ilā 'an ya'tinā ṣ-ṣaydu 'until the quarry comes to us', with apocopated ya'ti instead of dep. ya'tiya (from a verse quoted by Yāsīn in his supercommentary on al-Azharī, *Taṣr.* II, 247; not in *Schaw. Ind.* or A. S. Hārūn, *Mu^Cjam aṣ-ṣawāhid al-ʿarabiyya*. The rhyme is *naḥṭibu*, the metre *ṭawīl*). Poetic licence cannot be ruled out as a reason for this aberration.

(2) S. 94 v 1. The grammarians can offer no explanation for the dep. form, except to speculate that it may be reduced from an emphatic *naṣraḥan* (cf. 5.32 n 4), or be nothing more than a unique instance of vowel harmony (all the vowels in the verse are *a*, see the full text in next paragraph). No authority is known for the variant *naṣraḥa*, nor is the problem raised by the early grammarians.

(3) *Schaw. Ind.* 103; the correct apoc. form is *yūfū*, i.e. Stem IV (8.63 n 1) of the first rad. *w* (5.02 n 4) and third rad. *y* (3.92 n 1) verb *wafā* 'to fulfil', the rules for both weak radicals applying simultaneously. On 'inoperative' see 5.431 n 3.

5.73 (1) Refs. as for *lam* at 5.71, and cf. 5.741.

(2) S. 94 v 1, see 5.722 n 2. 'Nonne' questions are asked with 'a-*lam*, in the Qur'ān often with divine sarcasm (cf. example in 5.552 n 1).

(3) Concealed agents 7.8; 'status' 5.81 n 3; 'connected' 5.82 n 6.

(4) Direct object ch. 16; annexation 26.7 (poss. pronouns 4.72 n 2).

5.74 (1) Refs. as for *lammā* at 5.72.

(2) Lit. the 'sister' of 'a-*lam*, cf. 3.1 n 2 on this and other anthropomorphisms.

(3) Like all particles (i.e. elements which do not fall within the morphological or semantic range of nouns and verbs, cf. 1.25, 1.92) 'a-*lammā* is identified (scil. defined) by its function(s), in this case affirmation (*taqrīr*) and apocopation (*jazm*): because it has the same functions as 'a-*lam* (5.73) it has the same definition. Like 'a-*lam* also, 'a-*lammā* is originally a combination of interrogative (5.741) and negative, yielding an exact equivalent of Lat. *nonne*.

(4) On status see 5.81 n 3; 'ilā-ka>'ilayka 1.702 n 1; other refs. as in 5.73 nn 2, 3.

5.741 (1) Interrogation, *istifhām* (lit. 'seeking to understand') is not set out in detail by aš-Širbīnī, but see *Muf.* #581-84, Beeston 102, Fleisch 151 (*E.I.* (2), art. 'Istifhām'); Yushmanov 66. The principal interrogative particle is 'a, prefixed to the first word in the utterance (even to other particles, including conjunctions) and capable of causing inversion, e.g. 'a-zaydan *ḍarabta* 'Zayd have you struck?'; see Ibn Hišām, *Muġnī* I, 9, and cf. 12.5, 12.51 for 'a in alternative questions. The other interrogative particle is *hal*, a separate word which is placed first in the utterance, but which is more restricted in distribution (it cannot precede other particles or conjunctions, and inversion is not permitted after it), see Ibn Hišām, *Muġnī* II, 28, and a detailed treatment by Worrell, *Z.A.* 21, 116-150. Interrogation is also effected by pronouns, all of which also function as conditionals, q.v. 5.83 n 2, and by adverbs, which likewise occur as conditionals, q.v. 5.87 n 2.

5.75 (1) *Jum.* 216; *Muf.* #419; *Alf.* v 695; *Qaṭr* 83; Beeston 84; Fleisch 218. The function of this *li* is quite different from that of the 'causative *li*' in 5.51, though Brockelmann, *Grundr.* II, 28 regards the two as cognate (cf. also Bravmann, *J.Q.R.* (NS) 42, 51). This *li*, as its name (*lām al-'amr*, v. 5.51 n 1 on *lām*, 5.03 n 1 on 'amr) implies, produces indirect imperatives (it is rare with direct imperatives, e.g. *fa-l-tafrāḥū* 'let you rejoice', *Jum.* 216, and note *li>l* after *fa*, probably to avoid sequence of short vowels).

(2) S. 65 v 7; on *ḍū* and the 'five nouns' see 3.42. Note the vowel harmony in the possessive suffix *hu* 'his' after *i*, and see further 13.9 n 9.

5.751 (1) Apart from the considerations raised further down in the paragraph and in 5.752, this *li* (called *lām ad-ḍuḥā'*, v. 5.51 n 1 on *lām*, 5.55 n 3 on *ḍuḥā'*) is exactly the same as the 'imperative *li*' of 5.75. As will be clear from the examples, it is purely out of theological scruples that the term 'imperative' is felt to be inapplicable, placing God under an obligation. Such religious hypersensitivity is apparent from an early period (cf. Kopf, *S.I.* 5, 33), though it does not impose itself so formally upon grammar until relatively late (e.g. Ibn Hišām; cf. also Haarmann, *Z.D.M.G.* Suppl. II, 1974, 149). Other examples: 5.761, 11.711, 14.11, 19.34, 26.96.

(2) S. 43 v 77. Normal word order (7.9 n 1) would be *li-yaqḍi rabbuka Ḥalaynā*, but by inversion the less important element *Ḥalaynā* is brought into a less prominent position, with corresponding emphasis on the agent *rabbuka* (cf. 5.82 n 6 on the tendency for prepositional phrases to be structurally redundant and therefore syntactically mobile, also Bloch, op. cit. 5.431 n 5, 105 and refs. there).

5.752 (1) The third type mentioned here is *iltimās*, lit. 'touching' (as in the somewhat archaic English 'may I touch you for a fiver?'). This rather unhelpful category seems to go back no further than the time of

ad-Damāmīnī (d. 1424), quoted by aṣ-Ṣabbān on *Alf.* v 695 and by Goguyer (without attribution) in *Qaṭr* 83, n 6.

5.76 (1) *Jum.* 216; *Muf.* #419; *Alf.* v 695; *Qaṭr* 83. 'Prohibition' is *nahy*, a subdivision of *nafy* 'negation' in general, on which see *Muf.* #546-550; Beeston 99; *Fleisch Tr.* #149t, v; Yushmanov 77; Nöldeke 88; Wehr, *Z.D.M.G.* 103, 27. In brief, the negating elements are:
lā 'no, not', negates: indep. imperfect tense (e.g. 13.13), apoc. imperf. tense (= prohibition, 5.76, 5.761), optative verbs (14.34 n 3), nouns categorically (ch. 22). Conjunction *lā* 12.8, as a repeater for other neg. particles, 12.8 n 2.

mā 'what' (Wehr 35), negates: past tense verbs (e.g. 5.52) also, in affective use, imperfect tense verbs (Wehr 32), sentences (as synonym of *laysa*), 5.84 n 3.

lam, *lammā* negate apoc. imperfect tense verbs and convert to past tense meaning (5.71, 5.72).

lan negates dep. imperfect tense verbs and gives future meaning (5.42).

'*in*', rare synonym of *mā* (Wehr 37, Beeston 100, Nöldeke 89).

laysa 'not be', negates existence (10.18).

lāta, rare synonym of *laysa*, poss. *lā* + *ta* (Aartun, op. cit. 1.83 n 3).
 'illā 'unless' ('*in* 'if' + *lā* 'not'), ch. 21.

ḡayr 'other than', though positive, has become a synonym of 'illā (21.4) and *lā*; see further 21.42 n 1.

5.761 (1) The difference between 'prohibition' and 'request' is one of pure theology, cf. the identical scrupulosity in 5.751.

(2) S. 2 v 286. In the light of the above comment it is perhaps worth noting that here and in several other places in this chapter aṣ-Ṣirbīnī neglects to follow the convention of introducing Qur'anic quotations with such formulae as 'Almighty God said', 'in the words of Almighty God' etc. (1.01 n 3). This is doubtless due to the fact that his source for most of this chapter (al-Azharī, *Āj.* 38-50) does not observe the convention either.

5.8 (1) That is, conditional sentences, see 5.811 for terminology and syntax.

5.81 (1) *Jum.* 217, 332; *Muf.* #419, 585; *Alf.* v 696; *Qaṭr* 84; Beeston 104; *Fleisch* 211; Yushmanov 73. The particle '*in* 'if' is generally held to be cognate with those of similar form and meaning in other Semitic languages (e.g. Hebrew '*im*'), but see Brockelmann, *Grundr.* II, 635 for other possibilities.

(2) The spelling instructions (3.44 n 2) are to avoid confusion with '*an* (5.41), '*inna* (10.41) and '*anna* (10.42), all of whose unvowelled consonantal skeleton consists of '*n*.

(3) 'Status' renders *maḥall*, lit. 'untying place for camping', hence 'place' in general. It is not found in the earliest grammar, and it is arguable whether it is to be understood as a synonym of *mawḍiʿ*, 'place' = 'function' (3.1 n 4), which is the opinion of Versteegh in *Arabica* 25, 278, or of *manzila*, 'place' = 'status' (23.2 n 1). The latter is

preferred here for three reasons: (a) lexically *maḥall* is closer to *manzila* (lit. 'dismounting place for camping'), (b) *manzila* is infrequent in later texts (including this one), and its displacement by *maḥall* seems more likely than the evolution of a redundant synonym for the frequently occurring *mawḍiʿ*, (c) the phrase *fāʿil marfūʿ maḥallan* in the present paragraph can only mean 'agent independent in status' because 'agent' is already a functional category and all agents are independent, so that a translation 'agent independent in function' is tautologous. In other words, the agent pronoun *ū*, being incapable of inflection, can never have indep. form, but it has the status of an indep. element because it has the function of one. We should not be misled by the fact that *maḥall* and *mawḍiʿ* sometimes appear to be used interchangeably, see further 5.84 n 4.

(4) S. 47 v 36. See 5.71 on *lam*. The aspectual nature of the Arabic verbal system is nowhere clearer than here, for conditional sentences are intrinsically timeless, cf. Beeston 104.

(5) For the various grammatical points raised here see: apocopation markers 3.91-92; concealed agent pronouns 7.58; direct object pronouns 16.3 (16.306); doubly transitive verbs 10.6, 16.310 n 1.

5.811 (1) Conditional terminology: *fiʿl aš-šarṭ* 'verb of the condition' i.e. protasis (*šarṭ* 'condition' is undoubtedly an early borrowing from law); *jawāb aš-šarṭ* 'response to the condition', i.e. apodosis, evidently a coinage of the early grammarians. The other term for apodosis is *jazāʾ* 'requital' (same root as *yujza* in 5.83), and is at least as ancient as *jawāb*, though it is not clear whether they are technically distinct (e.g. both are used in the same sentence by Sībawayhi, *Kitāb* I, 435). However, *jazāʾ* and the etymologically related *mujāzāh* ('act of requiting') are also used as the name of the conditional construction, unlike *jawāb* or its cognates.

Conditional syntax: (a) 'real' conditions start with 'in 'if', and the verbs of protasis and apodosis are normally both past or both imperfect tense apocopated (exceptions 5.93), e.g. 'in *darastahu fahim tahu* or 'in *tadrushu tafham hu* 'if you studied it you would understand it/if you study it you will understand it'; (b) 'unreal' conditions start with *law* 'if (only)', and both verbs are usually past tense, that of the apodosis normally being prefixed with *la* (13.6 n 3), e.g. *law darastahu la-fahim tahu* 'if you had studied it you would have understood it'. See further the references at 5.81 n 1, and cf. also 5.90 n 2, 5.93 n 1.

5.82 (1) *Jum.* 310; *Muf.* #419; *Alf.* v. 696; *Qaṭr* 84; *Fleisch* 218. The 'conditional *mā*', *mā aš-šarṭiyya*, is formally identical with both the 'interrogative *mā*', *mā al-istifhāmiyya* (5.83 n 2) and the 'relative *mā*', *mā al-mawṣūla* (11.755). Historically the chain of evolution was most likely from interrogative to relative and thence to conditional (cf. Brockelmann, *Grundr.* II, 570, 660, *Mošcati* #13.42, *Fleisch* 218). The Arabs were well aware of the connection between conditional and interrogative functions: in *Kitāb* I, 433 Sībawayhi takes issue with some of his colleagues, who over-generalize by asserting that that all interrogatives may be used as conditionals. Cf. also 5.87 n 2.

(2) S. 2 v 106.

(3) On the nature of the 'connection' see n 6 below. The *min*-phrase is a common device for amplifying the meaning of a vague antecedent pronoun, and is called the 'explanatory *min*', *min al-bayāniyya* or *min li-l-bayān* (cf. 26.72). It is related to the 'partitive *min*', (*min li-t-tabʿīd*: not dealt with in text, but see 9.03 n 4, *Muf.* #499; Beeston 49; Noldeke 52). Normally the 'explanatory *min*' is followed by undefined sing. nouns, and 'partitive *min*' by defined plur. nouns, the two together having in this regard similar syntax to *kull*, v. 13.4 n 6.

(4) Since verbs are all predicates of their agents (3.73 n 5), and since predicability is a nominal feature (1.6), even elements which can never be formally expressed, such as concealed agent pronouns, are nouns: a good example of *taqdīr*, q.v. 2.101 n 1.

(5) The word *ḵayr* 'good, better/best' and its antonym *šarr* 'bad, worse/worst', are nouns which have become assimilated to the comparative/superlative structure (20.4). They thus occur as simple nouns, e.g. *hādā ḵayrun* 'this is a good thing', and with the sense of comparatives and superlatives, e.g. *hādā ḵayrun min dālika* 'this is better than that', *huwa ḵayruhum* 'he is the best of them' (other examples 5.41, 5.55(c), 10.62, 20.6). Note 'atā *bi*, lit. 'to come with', i.e. 'to bring': many verbs of motion are used in this way, e.g. *ḡahaba bi*, lit. 'to go with', i.e. 'to take away'. A causative of 'atā also exists, the Stem IV 'ātā 'to make come', i.e. 'bring' (e.g. 5.81). From *jā'a bi* 'to come with, bring', a new colloquial verb *jāb* has evolved, the *bi* 'with' having become a new third radical after regular loss of the original third radical ' in dialect (Yushmanov 62).

(6) 'Connected', *mutaʿalliq*, lit. 'hanging from' is a term applied usually to prepositional phrases, whose presence is dictated more by semantic than structural necessity. Hence these phrases should not occur without the element upon which they depend (but cf. 9.71) and, in common with several other elements which simply provide additional information about the main components of the sentence, they are structurally redundant (in particular space/time qualifiers, ch. 18, circumstantial qualifiers, ch. 19, and specifying elements, ch. 20). Whether prepositional phrases or dependent nouns, all are invariably operated upon by verbs (but see 19.25 n 1): even in the present case involving *ḵayr* 'better' the comparative function is traced to an underlying verb (see 20.41), with which *minhā* 'than it' is 'connected'. These elements are by nature likely to have no fixed place in the sentence: they are often 'neutralized' (*mulḡā*) or 'rendered inoperative' (*muhmal*), see 5.431 nn 2, 3.

5.83 (1) *Jum.* 311; *Muf.* #419; *Alf.* v 696; *Qaṭr* 84; *Fleisch* 218. The *man aš-šarṭiyya* 'conditional *man*', like 'conditional *mā*' (5.82) is also identical with its interrogative counterpart, *man al-istifhāmiyya* (see n 2) and 'relative *man*', *man al-mawṣūla* (11.754).

(2) S. 4 v 123; with appropriate intonation the original interrogative sense of *man* can be detected: "Who will do evil?--he will be requited

for it!'. The same can be done with S. 2 v 106 in 5.82: 'What verse do we cancel or cause to be forgotten?--we bring one better than it or like it!'. On interrogatives in general see 5.87 n 2.

(3) 'Constructed with its object as agent' renders *mabnī li-l-mar^Cūl*, lit. 'built for the direct object', one of the various periphrastic terms for the passive verb, q.v. at 8.0 n 1.

(4) According to the Arab interpretation, the grammatical agent of the passive verb is only a 'substitute' (*nā'ib*, see further 8.2) for the logical agent which it displaces. Moreover the passive cannot be used when the logical agent is expressed (unlike English 'he was run over by a bus'), hence the passive is sometimes termed *majhūl*, lit. 'unknown (scil. agent)'. Cf. 8.11.

(5) The 'referring' of an Arabic pronoun is specifically backwards, the term being *ʿā'id*, lit. 'going back'. Forward reference is not very common (cf. Beeston 41: 'a fairly strong objection is felt to placing a pronoun before the overt term to which it alludes'). One modern example is found on a Bahrain aerogramme: '*iqā wuḍi^Ca 'ayyu šay'in bi-dākilihā qad tursalu hāḍihi r-risālatu bi-l-barīdi s-saṭḥi* 'if anything is put inside it, this letter will be sent by surface post'. See further 11.75 on relative pronouns. Note that pronominalization is a noun marker: this feature is seldom, if ever mentioned in the enumeration of noun markers, cf. 1.8 n 1.

5.84 (1) *Jum.* 217; *Muf.* #181, 419; *Alf.* v. 696; *Qaṭr* 26, 84. The etymology of *mahmā* has caused the Arabs some problems, and their solutions are perhaps less satisfactory than Western explanations: Ibn Ya^Ciš, for example, (on *Muf.* #419) claims that *mahmā* is not a compound but a simple noun of the pattern *fa^Clā* (this is also the view of aš-Širbīnī, in his Commentary on the Qur'ān, I, 485). Others suggest that the first element *mah* is a 'noun of action' like *ṣah* 'ssh!' (q.v. 1.42). Those who see the *h* as a device to prevent the repetition in **mā-mā* are at least on the right track in recognizing that it is a compound word: the second element is very likely the indefinite *mā* 'what(ever)' which is suffixed to other elements and converts them into conjunctions (e.g. '*iqmā*, 5.85, '*aynamā*, 5.89), and the first element is probably the interrogative *mā* (see below, n 3). The *h* can be compared with the *h* in *mah*, a 'pausal' (2.14 n 2) form of *mā* found, for example in *kaymah* 'so that' (cf. 5.44 n 4). See Brockelmann, *Grundr.* II, 574, and cf. also Moscati, #13.42, Fleisch, *Tr.* #36ii.

(2) S. 7 v 132. See 5.51 on the '*li* of *kay*', 5.86 n 4 on *rābiṭa* 'link'. The parsing of *min* '*āyatin*, lit. 'of a verse', as a circumstantial qualifier (ch. 19) as well as an example of the 'explanatory *min*' (see 5.82 n 3) seems rather unnecessary, and may be an initiative of aš-Širbīnī's immediate source, al-Azharī, *Āj.* 49.

(3) Negative *mā* 'not' may negate sentences in exactly the same way as the verb *laysa* 'not to be' (10.18), in which case it is called the '*ḥijāzī mā*' (*mā al-ḥijāziyya*). The alternative construction, in which *mā* has no grammatical effect on components of the sentence, is called

the 'Tamīmī mā' (mā at-tamīmiyya): contrast the official 'Ḥijāzī' reading of S. 12 v 31, mā hāqā bašaran 'this is not a mortal' with the 'Tamīmī' equivalent mā hāqā bašarun, and see further Rabin, *Anc. W.-Ar.* 174. On the artificial polarization of Classical Arabic into Eastern ('Tamīmī') and Western ('Ḥijāzī') varieties cf. Rabin, *op. cit.* 7. This negative function of mā is assumed to have developed out of an original interrogative function: a rhetorical question such as 'What, is this a mortal!?' (or 'What is this, a mortal!?!') is, after all, intended to mean 'This is not a mortal'. See also 21.31 n 2.

(4) Cf. Carter, *J.A.O.S.* 93, 154 on the axiom that compound elements function as single elements (v. also 7.02, 9.7). 'Function' here is *mawḍiʿ* ('place', 3.1 n 4), denoting the substitutability of an apocopated verb (*lā nu'min* 'we would not believe') for the sentence having that function. It thus differs from *maḥall* 'status' (q.v. 5.81 n 3), which certainly implies functional equivalence but seems to be restricted to cases where no substitution is possible. This may be either because the morpheme in question is a bound agent pronoun which cannot therefore be displaced by an element of identical function (see examples 5.81-92 *passim*), or because there is no single element available to replace a compound one (thus in 9.75 and 9.76 the complex predicates cannot be substituted by a single term). See also 12.51 n 3 for a good illustration of this principle. Versteegh's observations in *Arabica* 25, 277 are a good preliminary survey of the problem.

5.85 (1) *Jum.* 217, 223; *Muf.* ##204, 419; *Alf.* v 696; *Qaṭr* 26, 85; *Fleisch* 219. Despite the opinion of aš-Širbīnī is the ensuing lines, there seems no reason to doubt that this element is anything other than the noun 'iḍ (1.441) suffixed with the indefinite pronoun mā 'whatever', known as mā az-zā'ida 'the redundant mā'. This mā is a variety of the interrog./relative mā, functioning like Latin *quod* (*Fleisch* 203, and cf. 18.207 n 1). On 'iḍmā as a particle see al-Azhari, *Taṣr.* II, 247.

(2) Here instead of ḥarf for 'particle' (1.25) the synonym 'adāh (q.v. 21.02 n 1) is used, apparently an arbitrary whim of aš-Širbīnī.

5.86 (1) *Jum.* 312; *Muf.* ##184, 419; *Alf.* v 696; *Qaṭr* 84; *Fleisch* 219. Like mā, *man*, originally an interrog./relative, cf. *Moscatti* #13.40.

(2) S. 17 v 110; the mā here is termed šila, normally 'relative clause' (11.752 n 1) but translated 'relative' for clarity, cf. 5.89 n 2.

(3) 'Link' translates *rābiṭa*, lit. 'tether', a term which, as well as being a late-comer into grammar, has only a very marginal application: it is used (in various forms) (a) as a synonym for *ʿā'id* 'referential (pronoun)', e.g. 9.76 (masc. *rābiṭ*), 13.41 (verbal noun *rabṭ* 'linking'), (b) approximately meaning 'copula', e.g. 10.1, (c) for 'conjunction' as in this paragraph. All three uses are clearly the result of influence from logic, cf. the cognate term *ribāṭ* 'tie', which occurs as a translation of Gk. *syndesmos* (Versteegh 38, 46). On *fa* as a 'link' see further 5.90 n 2.

(4) See 9.8 on word order in equational sentences.

(5) See 11.0 n 1 on the term *na^Ct* 'epithet', which overlaps the term *sifa* 'adjective'.

5.861 (1) This note is copied verbatim from al-Azharī, *Taṣr.* II, 248.

(2) Aš-Širbīnī's source (see n 1) actually has '*ayyuhum yaqum 'aḡum ma^Cahu* 'whichever of them stands I will stand with him', which makes more sense of the assertion that '*ayyu* depends for its meaning upon what it is annexed to; however, '*ayyu* is also found standing alone, as in the Qur'anic verse quoted in 5.86.

(3) This time '*ayyu* is formally annexed to *ad-dawābbi* and is thus equivalent to *mā* 'whatever' (5.82). Note that the dependent form '*ayya* is required, as it is a preposed direct object of *tarkub* 'you (might) ride', and see n 4.

(4) Observe that the word order of all four examples preserves that of '*ayyu* in its original interrogative function (cf. 5.82 n 1), i.e. with agents, direct objects and other qualifiers preceding their operators, though still marked accordingly. See 5.87 on *matā*.

(5) See 5.89 on '*ayna*. Cf. also 13.91 n 1 for a corroborative construction with '*ayyu*.

5.87 (1) *Jum.* 217; *Muf.* ##206, 419; *Alf.* v. 696; *Qaṭr* 84; *Fleisch* 219. For *matā* as an interrogative see next note; as a synonym of '*idā* 5.94; as a preposition 26.1.

(2) The particles '*a* and *hal* convert statements into questions (5.741 n 1), and for other types of questions there is a set of interrogative nouns, most of which also function as conditionals: 'what?' *mā*, also lengthened to *māḡā* (see 11.731 on *ḡā* 'this'); 'who?' *man*; 'where?' '*ayna*; 'which?' '*ayyu*; 'how?' *kayfa*; 'when?' *matā*. Note also the compounds *li-mā* 'why?' (= 'for what?'), *li-man* 'whose?' (= 'for whom?'). See further 9.94 n 1 and, on indirect questions, 12.51 n 6.

5.88 (1) *Jum.* 217; *Muf.* ##206, 419; *Alf.* v. 696; *Qaṭr* 85; *Fleisch* 219. The spelling instruction (3.44 n 2) may be to avoid confusion with '*iyyānā* (v. 16.502), though it is more likely to be a sign that this word is not very familiar. It is '*ayya* (5.86) + '*ānin* 'time' (q.v. 18.113 n 1 (b)).

(2) *Schaw. Ind.* 199, add *Fleischer*, *Kl. Schr.* II, 86, and al-Uṣmūnī on *Alf.* v. 696. The first hemistich is '*idā n-na^Cjatu l-^Cajfā'u bātāt bi-qaṣṣrīn* 'when the emaciated ewe spends the night in the desert' (cf. 10.16 on *bāta*). There are other translations of the second hemistich: 'whenever the wind moderates, she descends' (Goguyer, *Qaṭr* 85), 'whenever the wind leads it aside, it sinks down' (*Fleischer*, loc. cit.).

(3) The parsing is copied exactly from al-Azharī, *Āj.* 50, but it is left to aš-Šarqawī, in his Commentary on al-Azharī, loc. cit., to point out that the 'redundant *mā*' (5.89 n 2) is here introduced for purely metrical reasons.

(4) Classical Arabic verse rhymes throughout in the same consonant (so that a poem may be referred to as *al-lāmiyya* 'the one in l' etc.) and,

if that consonant is vowelised, the same vowel must also be maintained. All such vowels are pronounced long, even when grammatically short, so *tanzili* could rhyme with *manzilī* 'my abode' (but we transcribe all vowels as written, so as not to obscure the inflections). *Tanwīn* is not usual in rhyme, but see 1.45 n 3 for some exceptions. The final *i* of *tanzili* is an automatic juncture feature, q.v. 13.12 n 1, hence 'purely accidental', *ʿāriḍ* (cf. 18.3 n 1), i.e. non-phonemic.

5.89 (1) *Jum.* 217; *Muf.* #206, 419; *Alf.* v 696; *Qaṭr* 84; *Fleisch* 219. As an interrogative (5.87 n 2), 'ayna also makes compounds such as 'ilā 'ayna 'whither' ('to where', cf. 13.12) and min 'ayna 'whence' ('from where'). Cf. also 18.41 n 3.

(2) At least one grammarian (az-Zamaḡṣarī, *Muf.* #206) disagrees with the interpretation of *mā* as a 'relative' (*ṣīla*, (cf. 5.86 n 2), and treats it as a 'redundant *mā*' (*zā'ida*, 5.85 n 1). The boundary between the two is often vague, and perhaps it is better instead to consider the following: *mā* occurs regularly after nouns in a purely indefinite function, e.g. *rajulun mā* 'a certain man' (see Nöldeke 59) and it also occurs as a pure nominalizer, e.g. *mā dumtu* 'for as long as I remain' (10.23), *ʿindamā jā'a* 'when he came' (scil. 'at his coming', cf. 18.207 n 1). 'Redundant *mā*' seems to lie somewhere in between.

5.90 (1) *Jum.* 217; *Muf.* #207; *Alf.* v 697; *Qaṭr* 85; *Fleisch* 219. To judge by the entry in Lane's dictionary for this item ('whence, where, whencesoever, wheresoever, when, how, however' etc.), the meaning of the word has never been accurately known.

(2) Two further features of the conditional structure may as well be dealt with here: (a) it is possible for the protasis not to be a genuine condition, but an imperative, e.g. *kūnū hūdan 'aw naṣārā tahtadaw* 'be Jews or Christians and you will be rightly guided' (S. 2 v 135) or a proposal, e.g. 'a-lā *tanzil ta'kul* 'will you not dismount and eat?' (cf. the similar constructions with dep. verb after *fa*, in 5.55, also Beeston 107, *Fleisch* 217). (b) In certain circumstances the apodosis must be 'linked' by *fa*, viz. when the apodosis is a nominal sentence (example in 5.86), when the verb of the apodosis is preceded by a particle, e.g. 'in *saraqa fa-qad saraqa 'akun lahu min qablu* 'if he stole, then a brother of his has stolen before' (S. 12 v 77), when the apodosis is an imperative verb, e.g. 'in *kuntum tuḥibbūna llāha fa-ttabiʿūnī* 'if you love God, then follow me' (S. 3 v 31), and if the apodosis must have past tense meaning, e.g. 'in *kāna qamiṣuhu qudda min qubulin fa-ṣadaqat* 'if his shirt is torn from the front, then she has been telling the truth' (S. 12 v 26). See *Muf.* #587; *Alf.* v 701; *Qaṭr* 86; *Fleisch* 215; Nöldeke 111. Semantic considerations, Beeston 106.

5.91 (1) *Jum.* 217; *Muf.* #202, 419; *Alf.* v 697; *Qaṭr* 85; *Fleisch* 219. This is a compound of the indefinite *mā* suffix (5.85 n 1) and the noun of place *ḥayṭu*: the latter is a member of a small group of space/time qualifiers which end in an invariable *u*, thought to be a remnant of an old locative case (cf. Brockelmann, *Grundr.* II, 533, and 18.41 n 2). In the context of conditionals, *ḥayṭu* is unusual in not being an

interrogative.

(2) See 8.21 n 1 on 'i^Crāb in the sense of 'parsing'. The sudden loss of energy on the part of aš-Širbīnī is inexplicable: certainly his immediate source (al-Azharī, *Āj.* 50) does not flag in his treatment of *ḥaytūmā*.

5.92 (1) *Jum.* 217; *Muf.* #207, 419; not in *Alf.* but see al-Uṣmūnī on v 697; not in *Qatr* but see *Muḡnī* I, 173; *Fleisch* 219. For *kayfa* as an interrogative cf. 19.8, *kayfa ji'ta* 'how did you come?'.

(2) The legitimacy of *kayfa* alone as a conditional element, as in *kayfa taṣna^C 'aṣna^C*, of whose flavour the English 'how you act I shall act' gives some idea, has been a subject of dispute since the earliest grammar: Sibawayhi asked his master al-Kalīl (0.1 n 1) about it, and was told that the construction is 'felt to be reprehensible', (*mustakrah*), because *kayfa* is not a conditional. It comes to be used as one only because it is synonymous with *alā 'ayyi ḥālin* 'in what(ever) state' (cf. 5.861), *Kitāb* I, 433. The 'Kūfans' (9.4 n 3) on the other hand, allow *kayfa* as a conditional, *Inṣāf*, prob. 91.

5.93 (1) See also general references at 5.81 n 1. Here we may also remark on two more aspects of conditional sentences: (a) the compound *wa-'in* 'and if' has become fixed in a purely adversative sense, 'even though, even if', e.g. *'anā ma^Cahu wa-'in lam ya^Crifnī* 'I am with him even though he does not know me'. If this is not simple inversion of protasis and apodosis, it is ellipsis of an apodosis identical with the preposed clause, scil. *'I am with him: even though he does not know me I am with him'; (b) with *wa-law* 'even if' elision of the apodosis is compulsory, e.g. *'awlim wa-law bi-ṣātin* 'have a feast, even if only with a single sheep' (cf. Beeston 106; *Fleisch* 215). On its own *wa-law* is used approximately as 'so what?, what if it is?'.

(2) See 11.2 n 1 on 'states', *'aḥwāl*.

(3) S. 17 v 8, both verbs being past tense forms of the 'hollow verb' (10.23 n 2) *ʿāda* 'to return', root *ʿ-w-d*.

(4) S. 2 v 284. Note that a second, alternative protasis is coordinated by 'aw 'or' (12.4).

(5) S. 42 v 20. The mixture illustrated here is not common, and in most cases *kāna* is the verb involved, where it clearly has a modal, rather than a temporal function, in keeping with the meaning that *kāna* sometimes has: 'it most certainly is' (e.g. in 5.52 n 2). There are other methods, e.g. the use of *qad* (1.81), for indicating a specific past reference, cf. Beeston 106.

(6) *Schaw. Ind.* 73, add al-Mubarrad, *Muqtaḍab* II, 56. This variety is even rarer than the previous example, and is regarded by most as a poetic licence. However, Ibn Mālik seems to have been in favour of admitting it as a regular construction, cf. *Kizāna* III, 655, where, contrary to aš-Širbīnī's statement, a prose example is adduced, viz. *man yaqum laylata l-qadri 'imānan wa-ḥtisāban ḡufira lahu mā taqaddama*

min ḡanbihi 'whoever rises on Laylat al-Qadr (the night of the 26th of Ramaḡān) in belief and hope of reward, he will be forgiven what sins he has committed' (a 'Tradition', 1.01 n 4, cf. Wensinck, *Concord.* V 315).

(7) 'Prose' is *naṭr* lit. 'scattering', contrasting with *naẓm* 'poetry', lit. 'arranging' (also *ṣiʿr* in 5.94, lit. 'knowledge', cf. *poiesis*).

5.94 (1) In all copies of the *Ājurrūmiyya*, as far as can be discovered but not in other treatises. Cf. Beeston 104; Fleisch 206; 12.3 n 3.

(2) *Schaw. Ind.* 202, with variant *taḡammal* 'bear it' (cf. 5.90 n 2 (b) for apodosis introduced by *fa*). See Nöldeke, note 1 to p.111.

(3) Note that the 'verbal sentence' (cf. 7.1) may function as a single element (5.84 n 4).

(4) On the rules for *fa* in the apodosis cf. 5.90 n 2 (b). Here the phrase *qurina bi-l-fā* 'is connected by *fa*' expresses the function of *fa* as the 'link' between protasis and apodosis (see *rābiṭa*, 5.86 n 4), cf. the cognate term *qarīna* in 11.7 n 1.

(5) That '*in* 'if' and '*iḡā* 'when' are not completely interchangeable is well illustrated by contrasting the correct utterance '*ātika iḡā ḡmarra l-busru* 'I will come to you when the grapes go red' and the incorrect '*ātika in iḡmarra l-busru* 'I will come to you if the grapes go red'. The latter is wrong not so much because the condition is a false one, but because '*in* cannot refer to a specific future time (so al-Kalīl, in *Kitāb I*, 433).

(6) See 5.87 on *matā*.

(7) See Wensinck, *Concordance I*, 63 for the various forms and locations of this Tradition, whose variants (*matā yaqum*, *matā mā yaqum*, '*iḡā qāma*, '*in yaqum*) suggest much grammatical uncertainty. The book *Jāmiʿ al-masānīd* ('Collection of Traditions arranged according to the chain of transmission') is not yet published; its author was the most prolific and outstanding Ḥanbalī polymath of his day (1126-1200, see G.A.L. I, 503, E.I. (2), art. 'Ibn al-Djawzī'). No doubt the source for aṣ-Ṣirbīnī was al-Aẓharī, *Āj.* 50, and he in turn probably had it from Ibn Hišām, *Muḡnī* II, 201. The Ibn Mālik mentioned here is the familiar grammarian (1.02 n 2) rather than the famous theologian of Medina (d. 709-11), and the information may have come from *Tashīl* 237 (it is not in *Alf.*).

6.0 (1) *al-marfū^Cāt*, lit. 'those things which have been made independent', sound fem. plur. (cf. 3.231 n 2). On 'independence' see 3.1 n 1. 'Nouns in particular' includes adjectives (3.41 n 2) but not verbs, whose independent forms have already been dealt with in 5.33.

6.1 (1) *al-fā^Cil*, lit. 'the doer', see ch. 7, esp. 7.0, 7.01.

6.2 (1) *al-mar^Cūl allaḡī lam yusamma fā^Ciluh*, lit. 'the direct object of which no agent has been named', i.e. the passive, see ch. 8, esp. 8.1, 8.11. The spelling instructions are required here because the passive differs from the active only in vocalization, cf. 8.2, 8.3.

6.3 (1) *al-mubtada'* (*bih*), lit. 'that which is begun (with)', and *ḡabaruh*, lit. 'the information about it', see ch. 9, esp. 9.01, 9.1. Both subject and predicate normally have independent form (cf. 9.11), but see 6.4, 6.5 for the exceptions.

6.4 (1) *ism kāna*, lit. 'the noun of *kāna* "to be"', see 10.1 on why it may not be termed a true agent (*fā^Cil*) or subject (*mubtada'*).

(2) Relationships between elements are often expressed anthropomorphically, e.g. 'mother' (5.41 n 9, 26.21 n 1), 'sister' (10.1), 'daughter' (3.1 n 2); see Carter, *R.E.I.* 40, 83.

6.5 (1) *ḡabar 'inna*, lit. 'the information (about the noun operated on by) *'inna* "verily"', q.v. at 10.4. As with *kāna* in the previous note, the elements related to *'inna* are termed its 'sisters'.

6.6 (1) *tābi^C*, lit. 'following' (scil. the inflection of its antecedent). Naturally if the antecedent is dependent or oblique, so is the concordant, and no longer belongs to this chapter (cf. 11.01). Some grammarians arrive at five concordants by distinguishing between sequential coordination (*Caṭf nasaq*) and explanatory coordination (*Caṭf bayān*), cf. 12.0.

(2) *na^Ct*, usually rendered 'epithet' but see 11.0 n 1. On adjectives in general, see 11.01 to 11.61.

(3) *Caṭf*, lit. 'inclining towards', see ch. 12.

(4) *tawḡīd*, lit. 'confirming, affirming', see ch. 13.

(5) *baḡal*, translated literally. See ch. 14.

(6) We may add here the particle *lawlā* 'if not for ...' (from *law* 'if', 5.811 n 1, and *lā* 'not', 5.76 n 1), e.g. *lawlā zayḡun la-ḡi'tuka* 'if it were not for Zayd I would come to you', scil. 'if Zayd were not (in existence ...)'; other examples 5.55(f), 7.11, and see 9.94 n 1. *Jum.* 301; *Muf.* #169; *Alf.* v 714; *Qaṭr* 125; *Fleisch* 214; *Nöldeke* 112.

7.0 (1) *Jum.* 23; *Muf.* #20; *Alf.* v 225; *Qaṭr* 178; Beeston 63, 71; *Fleisch* 166; *Bateson* 44; *Yushmanov* 64, 68. For *fāʿil* 'agent' see 7.01 n 1. On *fāʿil* as a morphological category see 10.34 n 1.

(2) This follows the order in which they are dealt with by *Sībawayhi* (*Kitāb* I, 14, 278 respectively), also *az-Zamaḡṣarī* and *az-Zajjājī*, while *Ibn Mālik* and *Ibn Hišām* (*Qaṭr* only) treat the subject before the agent. For 'subject' see 9.01 and cf. below, 7.12; for '*aṣl* 'original form' see 3.0 n 2.

(3) See 19.73 n 1 on inversion in general; agents become subjects when they precede their verbs, cf. 7.12, 9.82, 12.903.

(4) This assumes that the predicate is made independent by the subject, although there is some dispute over the problem (see 9.11). On 'operation' see 2.11 and n 5 below.

(5) Operators are either 'formal' (*lafẓī*) or 'abstract' (*maʿnawī*, see 2.1 n 2), that of the agent being the verb which formally precedes it, while that of the subject is assumed to be abstract because the subject has nothing formally preceding it (9.11, and cf. 5.34 n 1). On the hierarchical considerations here cf. 22.0 n 4.

7.01 (1) Both *fāʿil* 'agent' and *fiʿl* 'verb' (see 16.01) are terms which ambiguously denote both the real actor and act and the agent and verb in purely linguistic form (similar ambiguity in 23.0 n 1, *munādā*, either 'person called' or 'vocative noun'). This overlap is both ancient and deliberate (for *Sībawayhi* speech is a set of acts of the speaker, *Carter, J.A.O.S.* 93, 147, 151), though only later did this same duality acquire philosophical proportions (see *Versteegh* 151).

(2) On 'plain noun', *ism ṣarīḥ*, and 'paraphrase', *taʿwīl*, see 9.02 n 1. The 'syntactically complete' (*tāmm*) verb is one which needs no further complements, contrasting with the 'syntactically defective' (*nāqis*) verbs in 10.1-38, and cf. 9.71.

(3) These are explained in 7.03.

7.02 (1) *S.* 7 v 54. Here *tabāraka* is an optative verb, q.v. 14.34 n 3.

(2) *S.* 16 v 69; the masc. noun *ṣinfun* 'type' introduced in an attempt to account for the masc. *muḡtalifun* by attraction, even though its agent is grammatically fem. (4.12 n 3, and see 26.95 n 2).

(3) *S.* 29 v 51; see further 9.6 n 2, 10.42 on 'anna clauses.

7.03 (1) See 10.11; these verbs have nominal sentences as their agent and complement, and are incomplete without the latter.

(2) An indep. noun preceding a verb is reckoned to be a subject, not an

agent, cf. 7.12.

(3) 'Devoid of personal endings' is a rather free translation of *fāriḡ* lit. 'empty', but the meaning is clear from the context. Concordance rules (7.22 n 1) require that verbs preceding their agents should not be inflected for number: hence in *yaqūmāni z-zaydāni* the dual verb is already a complete verbal sentence, 'they two are standing', and the following *az-zaydāni* 'the two Zayds' cannot be its agent, but is in apposition to the agent. A type '*akalūnī l-barāḡiṭu* 'the fleas bit me' with plural verb, was indeed recorded and discussed (e.g. *Kitāb* I, 5, 6, 39, 237, II, 8), but is dismissed as dialect usage (see also 7.23 n 1).

(4) Though *qā'imun* 'standing' has verbal meaning it is a noun, and so *zaydun* is an inverted subject, not an agent. See 3.0 n 2 on 'normal'.

(5) i.e. the agent of a passive verb, see ch. 8.

7.1 (1) What is offered is a purely formal definition of the 'verbal sentence' (*jumla fi^Cliyya*) in keeping with the elementary nature of the work. More detailed treatments are available in Ibn Ya^Ciš on *Muf.* #20, al-Astarābādī on *Kāfiya* I, 62 (ed. Istanbul 1858), aṣ-Ṣabbān on al-Uṣmūnī on *Alf.* v 225. The central point of these considerations is that the agent is that of which an act is predicated (cf. 1.6 n 3), and which must be preceded by its verb because the verb operates on the agent. A typical pedantry is the assertion that the agent remains an agent even when there is no 'act', e.g. dying (*Qaṭr* 181, and cf. 16.11).

7.11 (1) S. 2 v 251. Here *allāhi* 'of God' is the logical agent, in subjective genitive relationship to the verbal noun *da^Cu* 'holding back'. After such annexation constructions (cf. 26.92) a direct object may follow in dependent form, as *an-nāsa* 'the people' here (and cf. 16.312 n 1), or it may be paraphrased with *li* (examples in 24.31 n 1). Another kind of subjective genitive in 10.34. See 6.6 n 1 on *lawlā*.

(2) S. 5 v 19. The *min* here is only called redundant because the verb before it is negated: otherwise it would certainly be regarded as a 'partitive *min*', q.v. in 9.03 n 4. On 'redundant' cf. 5.413 n 1.

(3) S. 4 v 79 or 166, and cf. redundant *bī* in subjects, 9.03 n 5. It is tempting to associate this *bī* with the redundant *bī* which occurs in the predicate of *laysa* 'not to be' (10.18 n 4). Cf. also Nöldeke 76.

(4) This always means the desert Arabs, contemporaries perhaps of the early grammarians, but certainly not of aṣ-Širbīnī! See 1.21 n 1.

(5) According to as-Suyūṭī (*Ham^C al-hawāmi^C* I, 186) these curious sentences are quoted by Ibn Mālik in his commentary on *Kāfiya* (though aṣ-Širbīnī has them directly from al-Azhari, *Taṣr.* I, 270). In all probability they are not themselves genuine utterances, but rather prose imitations of the structure of a few odd verses of poetry (q.v. in *Jum.* 211f, which seems to be the earliest location, but cf. *Kitāb* I, 145-6, Howell I, 155). See also Reckendorf, *Ar. Synt.* 79,

(6) This is the 'Reader' (21.21 n 2) *ʿAbdullāh ibn Kaṭīr*, d. 738 (see

E.I. (2), art. 'Ibn Kathīr', G.A.S. I, 7).

(7) S. 2 v 37. In his comments on this verse (*Ma^Cānī* I, 28), al-Farrā' argues that both 'Readings' amount to the same thing 'because whatever encounters you, you encounter it', and cites another example from the Qur'an (S. 2 v 124) involving the word *nāla* 'to obtain'.

7.12 (1) See the definition of the 'verbal sentence' (*jumla fi^Cliyya*) in 7.1. The translations in this paragraph are intended to emphasize that the verb in these positions is felt to be a complete sentence, consisting of the verb itself and its pronominalized agent, together functioning as a predicate of the preceding noun (similar to 9.75). There are thus three possibilities: the true verbal sentence *qāma z-zaydāni* (see 7.22 n 1), the nominal sentence *az-zaydāni qāmā* as in the present paragraph, and the single term verbal sentence with an overt noun in apposition to the pronominalized agent, viz. *yaqūmāni z-zaydāni*, as in 7.03. A comparison of the three shows that in the verbal sentence with an overt agent the verb is not inflected for number, see further 7.22 n 1, and cf. Anshen and Schreiber, *Language* 44, esp. 792.

7.2 (1) 'Overt' is *ẓāhir*, lit. 'showing, apparent' (synonym *muẓhar*, lit. 'shown, made apparent', as in 1.24), a self-explanatory term for explicit nouns. On the antithesis *muḍmar* 'pronominalized': 7.31 n 1.

(2) The manuscripts say four, but for different reasons: C. counts 7.21 and 7.24 as being the four examples, while B. and D. (judging from the photographs) regard 7.21-22-23-24 as four sets of examples. Here, however, we follow al-Azharī, *Āj.* 52 and other printed editions, where all ten are presented as part of Ibn Ājurrūm's original text.

7.21 (1) See 3.2 on independence marker *u*, 5.01 on past tense verb, 5.02 on imperfect tense verb.

7.22 (1) As the examples demonstrate, the verb before an overt agent is always singular (cf. 7.23 n 1). It is marked only for gender, viz. (a) masc. (unmarked sing. verb) for agents of natural or grammatical masc. gender, regardless of number (7.21-25), including non-humans. (b) fem. (marked with *t*, q.v. 5.01) for agents of natural fem. gender (7.26-29) or grammatical fem. gender, in both cases regardless of number, e.g. *nabaḥat kalbatāni* '2 bitches barked', *naṣibat ḥarbun* 'a war started' (agent is unmarked fem., cf. 11.43 n 3), *naṣibat ḥurūbun* 'wars started', *nabaḥat kilābun* 'dogs barked' (see 4.12 n 3 on syntax of broken plural).

7.23 (1) Historically the past tense verb is a noun (concrete, in the view of Fleischer, *Kl. Schr.* I, 368), to which agent suffixes have been added. These suffixes are cognate with the free pronouns, as can still be clearly seen by comparing them (listed in 9.22) with the agent suffixes in ch. 7 or 8. Hence *qāma* 'stood' is not so much sing. as impersonal (scil. 'a standing occurred, by an agent yet to be specified'), and this has been generalized to the imperfect tense also. It is misleading to regard this as 'incomplete concordance' (as Reckendorf, *Synt. Verh.* 69, *Ar. Synt.* 23), since overt nouns and agent

pronoun suffixes are in complementary distribution. The most intrusive reaction to this situation must surely be Noldeke's remark (78) on the grammatically wrong structure '*akalūnī l-barāḡītu* 'the fleas bit me' (with plur. verb before the agent, cf. 7.03 n 3), that 'unfortunately it has not become universal'!

7.24 (1) These are the nouns whose inflectional vowels are long according to the conditions set out here and in 3.421. It is clearly gross negligence to invoke those conditions here as they are completely irrelevant to the agent function, and the examples could just as well have included *qāma 'aḡī* 'my brother stood'. In fact *aṣ-Ṣirbīnī* is only reproducing the misplaced pedantry of al-Azharī, *Āj.* 52.

7.25 (1) These broken plurals must have natural masc. gender, or else the verb will have to be fem. sing. (7.22 n 1). On the assimilation of the def. art. see 11.41 n 2, and on the juncture feature 11.1 n 2.

7.26 (1) The fem. marker here and in 7.27-29 is not an agent suffix, cf. 7.59. Note that, like many fem. proper names (cf. 11.43 n 3), *hindun* is unmarked for gender.

7.27 (1) See 11.1 n 2 on the juncture feature of the def. art. The extra vowel (*i*) is orthographically attached to the *t* of *qāmat*, but it seemed better to preserve the morphological integrity in transcription.

7.28 (1) Segmentation of the past tense verb leads easily to the conclusion that the masc. *ḡarab-a* and the fem. *ḡarab-a-t* are of the same status as, say, the 2nd sing. masc. *ḡarab-t-a* (7.53) and fem. *ḡarab-t-i* (7.54), and they are often so presented in Western grammars (even in a modern analysis such as Trager and Rice, *Language* 30, 230). However, it is incompatible with Arabic syntax, see further 7.58 n 1, and cf. Beeston 72.

7.29 (1) Here, as with the masc. plurals in 7.23, 7.25, it makes no difference whether the plur. is 'sound' (3.23) or 'broken' (3.22), as only natural gender is relevant to the form of the verb. Contrast *an-niswatu yaḡribna* 'the women strike' in 3.241, where the verb follows its agent and therefore concords in number as well as gender.

7.30 (1) The suffix *ī* 'my' (cf. 4.72 n 2) obliterates any short vowel inflections, cf. 23.6 and following. However, the position of the agent is also one of its markers (7.12) and is sufficient here to identify *ḡulāmī* as the agent of *qāma*. It stands to reason that in cases where two uninflected nouns follow the verb, the first is taken to be the agent and the second the direct object, e.g. *ḡaraba ḡulāmī 'aḡī* 'my slave struck my brother', *iktāra mūsā 'īsā* 'Moses chose Jesus' (cf. 4.2 n 2(b) on these invariable proper names: they belong to the same class as *al-fatā* but have no undefined form **mūsan*).

(2) The phrase 'its place is already occupied' renders *iṣṭiḡāl al-maḡall*: on *maḡall* 'place' cf. 5.81 n 3, though here a purely literal translation has been preferred. Literal, too, is the translation of *iṣṭiḡāl*, on which see further 21.34 n 1. It does not seem likely that *maḡall* here can be equated with 'function' (*mawḏiʿ*, cf. 5.84 n 4),

because the independence marker *u* and the purely arbitrary *i* of the possessive suffix *f* are respectively a morpheme and a phoneme, i.e. are not members of substitutable classes.

7.31 (1) 'Pronominalized agent' is *fā^Cil muḍmar*, which could also be translated in non-linguistic terms as 'the actor who is kept in the mind': *muḍmar* has a broader significance than 'pronominalized', however, and may also denote suppressed elements such as the conjunction 'an (see 5.4 n 2). The term *ḍamīr*, on the other hand, always denotes 'pronoun', q.v. at 11.71.

7.4 (1) See 11.715 for bound pronouns, 11.716 for free pronouns.

(2) See 9.22 n 2 for transliterations of these terms. Note also that, although the analysis recognizes the three numbers (sing., dual, plur.) and the two genders (masc., fem.), there are no higher order terms for 'number' and 'gender' as such, nor, as it happens, for 'case' or 'mood' either (cf. 11.02 ¶ 1).

(3) See 9.3 n 1 on this practice of computing combinations.

7.5 (1) Here is as good a place as any to reassert the futility of using 'subject' both for true subjects and for agents of verbs (e.g. Reckendorf, Fleisch etc.): this obscures the structural difference between the two, subjects always being first in the sentence (9.01) and agents always after their verb (7.12), not to mention the problems it causes in the treatment of concordance between the verb and agent on the one hand, and subject and verb-phrase predicate on the other.

(2) This definition of the bound pronoun is from *Alf.* v 55, and will be found again in 11.715 and 16.3. 'Unconstrained' here renders *ikṭiyāran* lit. 'voluntarily, by choice', antonym of *iḍṭirāran* 'by constraint, involuntarily', the latter being characteristically used to denote poetic licence (11.715 n 2). Note that in *Muf.* #163 a verse is quoted in which a bound pronoun is suffixed to 'illā (cf. also *Muḡnī* II, 78): this is precisely such a poetic licence.

(3) This echoes 7.0, where the priority of agent over subject and vice versa is argued.

7.51 (1) The ensuing paragraphs contain the complete paradigm of the active verb, sound Stem I, *ḍaraba* 'to strike' in its past tense form; for the imperfect tense paradigms see 4.4 n 5 etc., and cf. 7.8. Contrary to the convention outlined in 3.52 n 3, the verb will here be translated as an impersonal (i.e. stem-like) past tense and not as an infinitive: for the reasons given in 7.57 n 3, however, it cannot be transliterated as a past stem *ḍarab-. Note the spelling instructions (3.44 n 2), which prevent confusion with the passive (cf. 8.61).

(2) Proto-Semitic probably had *k* for *t* here, but in Arabic and some other Semitic languages the *t* was generalized by analogy with the suffixes of the second person (Moscati #16.45).

7.52 (1) *al-mu^Cazzim nafsah*, lit. 'he who exalts himself', i.e. our pluralis majestatis. See Moscati #16.47 on Proto-Semitic *na* suffix.

(2) In an unvowelled text *ḡarabnā* and *ḡarabanā* are indistinguishable, hence the comments and spelling instructions. But *ā* is a special case, being prosodically an unvowelled consonant (2.43 n 2) but never a verb radical: before object pronoun suffixes it is the reflex of the weak 3rd rad. *w* or *y* in the 3rd masc. sing., contrast *ḡadaynā* 'we led' with *ḡadānā* 'he led us' (**ḡadaya-nā*, see further 16.304 n 1).

7.53 (1) The *t* is evidently Proto-Semitic (Moscati #16.44); see 11.719 n 4 on the relationship between it and the *ta* of 'anta 'you'.

7.54 (1) Both the 2nd person marker *t* and the gender marker *i* are probably Proto-Semitic (Moscati #16.44). Note that the transliteration *tī* (also *ta* above, and *tu* etc. in the following paragraphs) obscures the fact that only the consonant is named in the text (cf. 3.5 n 2, 5.1 n 5). In 8.67 the 2nd person *t* suffix is further analysed into its various genders, though by modern criteria not going far enough in segmenting the dual and plural (see following notes). The vowels of the singulars *tu* 'I', *ta* 'you' (masc.) and *tī* 'you' (fem.) are explained by aṣ-Ṣabbān (on al-Uṣmūnī on Alf. v 55) in terms of a rather fanciful hierarchy *u*, *a*, *i*, with *u*, 'the noblest vowel' assigned to the 1st person and so on in descending order!

7.55 (1) Though not attested outside Arabic and Ugaritic, *tumā* is assumed by Moscati (#16.50) to be a Proto-Semitic form. There is also the possibility that it is a dualization of the masc. plur. *tum*, cf. n 2.

(2) The segmentation seems a little unadventurous when we compare the dual *tumā* with the plural *tum*. Perhaps what prevented the Arabs from isolating *ā* as a dual morpheme here (as Trager and Rice, *Language* 30, 225) was a sense of the contradiction in having simultaneous dual and plural markers (cf. 3.411 and 3.65 n 2 for examples of similar reasoning).

7.56 (1) Though there is variation in the forms between the Semitic languages, all 2nd masc. plur. suffixes consist of *t* and a following nasal element (cf. Moscati #16.47). See further 10.66 n 2 on the variant *tumū*.

(2) The transliteration here (also 7.55, 7.57) as *tu* is a compromise: only *t* stands in the text (see 7.54 m 1), and the *u* is certainly not to be confused with the 1st sing. (7.51). That the Arabs did not regard the *u* as associated with the *t* can be deduced from aṣ-Ṣabbān's comment (on al-Uṣmūnī on Alf. v 55) that the vowel *u* occurs here only because of the bilabial *m*, homorganic with *w* (and hence with *u*, 3.1 n 2). The translation '*you' is adopted to signify that, at this stage, the 2nd person is still undifferentiated as to number and gender.

7.57 (1) A purely synchronic segmentation of *tunna* into masc. *tum* and fem. plur. *na* (q.v. 3.241, 7.62), as in Trager and Rice, *Language* 30, 225, is perfectly justifiable, but there is no evidence that *tunna* is historically a feminization of *tum* (cf. Moscati #16.37, #16.47, Brockelmann, *Grundr.* I, 576). The same applies to the free pronoun *hunna* and suffix *kunna*, see further 9.44 n 1.

(2) See 16.312 n 2 on the transliteration problem with *nna*.

(3) The final vowel of *ḡaraba* has no significance other than marking the verb, in the phonologically most convenient way, as being uninflected (5.1), and is automatically displaced by the true agent pronoun suffixes. This being so, and since verbs are normally quoted in their 3rd sing. masc. form (3.52 n 3), *ḡaraba* is preferred over *ḡarab-* as a transliteration. This also serves to emphasize that the status of the final *a* in *ḡaraba* is not the same as that of, say, the *tu* in *ḡarabtu* and the like (a fact which is obscured by treating the entire past tense as a uniform 'suffix conjugation', e.g. Beeston 76, Bateson 24, which then leads to syntactical complications, cf. 7.23 n 1).

7.58 (1) *muṡtatir* 'concealed (pronoun)', lit. 'hiding itself', is a subdivision of the *muṡmar* 'pronominalized' (7.31 n 1), the other being *bāriz* 'visible (pronoun)', lit. 'protruding, standing out' (see 11.71 et seq. for general treatment of pronouns). The existence of 'concealed pronouns' is inferred as follows: since masc. *ḡaraba* and fem. *ḡarabat* are followed by overt agents of sing., dual and plur. number (e.g. in 7.21-29), the final *a(t)* cannot be a pronoun of the same order as the agent suffixes *tu*, *ta*, *ti* etc., and therefore *a* is a purely lexical item (5.1) and *t* is only a gender marker (5.01), which must leave the true agent pronoun concealed within the verb. The same reasoning is applied to those imperfect tense verbs (namely all except the 'five verbs', 3.44) which do not carry what the Arabs interpret as an overt agent marker: see further 7.8 and note, and cf. 11.713, 11.714.

7.59 (1) See 5.01 on the fem. suffix. The Arab grammarians would not accept the implications of Fleisch 105, where *ḡatala* is correctly presented as an integral form, but the fem. *ḡatal-at* (sic) is set out as if the *a* belonged to the *t* suffix.

7.60 (1) Both masc. and fem. are evidently dualizations of their respective singulars (contrast 2nd person, 7.55, where the dual suffix is apparently attached to the masc. plur.), and are Proto-Semitic (Moscatti #16.49). Note that there is no dual of the 1st person in Classical Arabic (only in Ugaritic, Moscati #16.51). See 11.715 on 'visible', *bāriz*.

(2) The difficulty is not so much phonological as orthographical. The mater lectionis for *ā* being historically the consonant ' (2.43 n 2), and only consonants being normally notated in the script (3.44 n 2), the suffixing of ' (= *ā*) to the unvowelled fem. *t* appears to produce the non-canonical cluster *t'* at the end of the syllable (see 2.5 n 3), viz. **ḡarabat'*. This, claims aš-Širbīnī, is resolved by arbitrarily vowelizing the *t* (though it is a fact that, when it does not have the value ' , this character always has a before it to give *ā*!).

(3) The editorial comment and the contents of this paragraph are taken from al-Azharī, *Āj*. 54 (indeed almost the entire chapter is repeated by aš-Širbīnī).

7.61 (1) This ending is the same as the Proto-Semitic (Moscatti #16.46).

(2) There are insuperable transliteration problems here (and again at 8.72). It happens that *ḡarabū* is spelt (consonantly) *ḡ-r-b-w-* (cf. 2.43 n 2 on long vowel markers), and no satisfactory explanation has been offered for the presence of ' (the so-called 'otiose 'alif', or 'alif *zā'ida*) on the end of the word. It is also found on the end of dep. and apoc. verbs *taḡribū*, *yaḡribū* (paradigms 4.82 nn 1, 2), and on one or two unusual words (Fleischer, *Kl. Schr.* I, 29). The suggestion that ' serves to prevent the previous *w* from being read as *wa* 'and' prefixed to the next word is not convincing: perhaps the ' originally had something to do with stress (cf. 3.89 n 2). Certainly the final cluster *w'* breaks the phonological rules (cf. 7.60 n 2), which is why the ' has to be declared non-existent! Cf. Fleisch, *Tr.* #119c n 2.

7.62 (1) As a past tense suffix *na* is an extension of the imperfect tense pronoun suffix *na* rather than an original Proto-Semitic form (Moscati #16.46). As a pronoun *na* is impervious to mood inflections: compare the paradigms in 4.4 n 5, 4.82 nn 1, 2, and see 7.8 n 1. On the transliteration *na* see 3.241 n 1. *Muf.* #406 deals wholly with *na*.

7.63 (1) The examples as given in the *Ājurrūmiyya* consist only of verb and agent suffix, to which al-Azhari (copied by aṣ-Ṣirbīnī) has added preposed subjects, with the intention of making clear to the reader the exact reference of the suffixed pronoun (e.g. that *na* in 7.62 refers to plural females, exemplified by the preceding *al-hindātu*). That is the only purpose of these nouns, which must not be mistaken for preposed agents: according to 7.12 there is no such thing as a preposed agent, for by inversion the agent becomes a subject, and this is reflected in our translations ('the Hinds, they struck' etc.). Here, to borrow M. M. Bravmann's formulation (*Studies in Arabic and General Syntax*, Cairo 1953, 39), 'the two parts confront each other as independent entities', unlike verb and agent, which (with pronoun as agent) are literally bound to each other in an irreversible order. Cf. also 9.75, 9.76.

7.7 (1) Observe the distributional criterion (cf. 7.5) and note that, in these exceptive constructions, the verb displays absolutely no concordance (even of gender) with its logical agent, the ensuing free pronoun; see further 21.3.

(2) The list of examples here comprises all the free independent pronouns, hence they need not be tabulated in the notes (they are, in any case listed again in 8.8 and 9.24). The same pronouns also function as subjects of equational sentences, see 9.22. For segmentation of these pronouns see 9.4 et seq.

(3) '*innamā* 'only' is not exactly a synonym of '*illā* 'except', but it often amounts to one, as in the examples here. See further 9.83.

7.8 (1) Unlike the past tense, the imperfect tense is marked by both prefixes and suffixes (in modern terms, discontinuous morphemes). The Arab segmentation is as follows (refer to paradigms, 4.4 n 5, 4.82 nn 1, 2): (a) prefixes '*(a)*, *t(a)*, *y(a)*, *n(a)*, being number and person markers (not agent pronouns) peculiar to the imperfect (5.3); (b) the

stem (taken for granted by the Arabs, but abstracted by quoting the required form of the symbolic verb *fa^Cala* 'to do', v. 3.45 n 1: thus *ya^Calu* implies the stem *-f^Cal-* etc.); (c) overt agent pronouns *ī* (fem. sing.), *ā* (dual), *ū* (masc. plur.) in the 'five verbs' only (3.44-45), and *na* (fem. plur.); (d) mood markers (except in fem. plur.), viz. end vowel alternation *u/a/∅* or alternation *nī* (dual), *na* (masc. plur., see 3.241 n 3) and *∅*. All four features can be seen in *ya-ḡrib-ā-nī*: 3rd person prefix, stem, dual agent pronoun, mood marker; cf. 3.93 n 2.

Further to the 'concealed' pronoun of the imperfect tense (7.58 n 1): from a comparison of *taḡribu* 'you (masc. sing.) strike' with its dual and plur. *taḡribāni*, *taḡribūna*, we might infer that the sing. was simply the unmarked form (zero morpheme). But this breaks down in the 3rd person, for *yaḡribu* 'strikes' may have sing., dual or plur. overt agents (7.21-29), and we can hardly posit three different zero morphemes (as least!) in the same word. It is this pitfall which the Arabs, with their 'concealed' pronoun, seem to be trying to avoid, though with what success is still a matter for investigation.

(2) This necessary fiction merely retains the morpheme sequence of the past tense verb.

7.81 (1) Compare the corresponding past tense forms in 7.7, or the passives in 8.8.

7.82 (1) The imperative is effectively the 2nd person imperfect tense verb minus (a) the 2nd person prefix *ta* (or *tu*), which is redundant in a verb form which can only be used in direct address, and (b) the mood inflections (i.e. is formally, if not actually identical with the apocopated form), because the imperative denotes a non-event (cf. 5.7 n 2). Only stem and pronoun agents, concealed or overt, remain. See also 5.2.

7.9 (1) The order Verb-Agent is only the minimal sentence pattern: see ch. 15 for a summary of the extended pattern Verb-Agent-Qualifier. Qualifiers, which are invariably dependent nouns or prepositional phrases (5.82 n 6) are syntactically mobile, and may occur in any position (viz. Qual.-Verb-Agent, Verb-Qual.-Agent), without disturbing the order of verb and agent (e.g. *ḡarabahu zaydun* 'Zayd struck him', where the object pronoun suffix intervenes between verb and agent (contrast the fully pronominalized *ḡarabtuhu* '*struck-I-him, which retains the normal word order). A consequence of the structure of the verb (cf. 7.58 n 1) is that it can never occur with an elided agent (which would be tantamount to a predicate without a subject, cf. 3.73 n 5), while equational sentences may elide either subject or predicate, q.v. 9.9.

8.0 (1) *Jum.* 88, 91; *Muf.* #436; *Alf.* v 242; *Qaṭr* 193; Beeston 82; *Fleisch* 117, 122, 246; Bateson 34; Yushmanov 51. There is no single term corresponding to 'passive': here we have *mā lam yusamma fā^Ciluh*, lit. 'that whose agent has not been named', *an-nā'ib^C an il-fā^Cil*, lit. 'the deputy agent' (see n 3), *mabnī li-l-maf^Cūl*, lit. 'constructed for the direct object' (8.61 and passim) and, though not in our text, *majhūl*, lit. 'unknown'. See 8.67 n 1 on the historical problem.

(2) See 1.02 n 2 on Ibn Mālik; the reference is to *Alf.* v 242.

(3) The term *an-nā'ib^C an il-fā^Cil* is evidently a coinage of Ibn Mālik himself and, as such, constitutes one of the few innovations in later Arabic grammar. The verb *nāba* 'to deputize', from which *nā'ib* is derived, commonly denotes allomorphs, see 3.0 n 3.

(4) In fact only space/time qualifiers are likely to be found as agents of passive verbs, since they are also allowed to function as direct objects by 'latitude of speech' (v. 18.1 n 4): examples, *šīma ramaḏānu* 'Ramaḏān was fasted', *sīra yawmāni* 'two days were travelled'.

(5) The reason is that the verb in question is doubly transitive (see 16.310 n 1) and the second direct object *dirḥaman* remains so after passivization. Normally only the first direct object becomes a passive agent, but sometimes the functional order (but not the word order) is reversed, e.g. *kusiya zayḏun ṭawban* 'Zayd was clothed in a garment', but *kusiya zaydan ṭawbun* 'on Zayd a garment was clothed'.

8.1 (1) The text has *li-qiyaṃīhi maqāmahu*, lit. 'because of its standing in its place'; *maqām*, lit. 'standing-place', is one of the near synonyms of *mawḏi^C* 'function' (3.1 n 4) and *manzila* 'status' (23.2 n 2). particularly of *mawḏi^C* (pace Versteegh, *Arabica* 25, 275).

(2) 'Subject of a predicate' is a very free translation of *ḥumdiyya*, lit. 'the quality of being an indispensable prop', referring to the structural bond between subject and predicate which also obtains between verb and agent (verb = predicate, 3.73 n 5). See 20.01 n 1.

8.11 (1) The elision (*ḥaḡf*, 3.73 n 2) must be deliberate, i.e. for metrical or stylistic reasons, or because the agent is not known, (though these considerations have been called 'an intrusion by the grammarians into the art of rhetoric' by Ibn Hišām, in *aṣ-ṣabbān* on *al-Uṣmūnī* on *Alf.* v 242). Note that these restrictions do not apply to the instrument of an action: the sentence in 1.701, *katabtu bi-l-qalami* 'I wrote by pen' has as its passive *kutiba bi-l-qalami* 'it was written by pen'. On the idiomatic use of the passive as a strictly impersonal verb cf. *Fleisch* 118 (frequent examples in *aṣ-Ṣirbīnī*, *qīla* 'it is said', *ʿujība* 'it is answered', and others in the present paragraph, *fuhima*, *ḡukira*).

8.2 (1) On systematic grounds the assumption that the passive is derived from an underlying active verb is interesting enough (see following notes). What is also worth noting is that such detailed descriptions of the derivational process as we have here could only have become necessary in a period when the passive was felt to be difficult, mainly because (at least by aš-Širbīnī's time and probably much earlier) the formal passive had disappeared from colloquial Arabic, having been replaced by varieties of Stem VII (8.66 n 1) or Stem VIII (8.68 n 1), cf. Bateson 100, Yushmanov 57.

(2) This is a literal translation of *ʿamilta fihi ṭalātata ʿa^mmālin*, and uses the same notion of *ʿamal* 'operation' already applied to the grammatical effect of one element upon another (2.11 n 1). However, even in the earliest grammar it could also denote the operation of the speaker upon elements in an utterance (Carter, *J.A.O.S.* 93, 151, and cf. 20.12 n 2).

(3) 'Original form' translates *ʿašl*, 'root, base' etc. (see 3.0 n 2), here clearly approaching the concept of a deep structure: the whole treatment here has a marked flavour of transformational grammar *avant la lettre*, with 'deletion' (*ḥaḍf*, 3.73 n 2) of the original agent, replacement of the agent by the object (cf. 8.1 n 1) and finally marking the new verb to distinguish it from the active. Whether the passive is historically a derivative of the active is arguable: Fleisch 246 connects it with the impersonal use of intransitive verbs.

(4) See the parsing in 8.21 for details.

(5) Prose is not the best medium for describing phonological changes, which may be more comprehensible when presented as follows:

active *qāla* (<**gawala*)> **quwila*> **qiwla*> *qīla* passive, 'was said';
active *bāʿa* (<**bayaʿa*)> **buyiʿa*> **biyʿa*> *bīʿa* passive, 'was sold'.
These are 'hollow' verbs (10.23 n 2) whose middle radical is a semi-vowel. Note the principle of least phonological effort (2.31).

(6) S. 11 v 44. The example of *qīla* has already been explained; the other, *ḡīḍa* 'was diminished' is from *ḡāḍa* (<**ḡayaḍa*). Note the direct speech after *qīla*, and cf. 10.64 n 1.

8.21 (1) In its narrower meaning *ʿiʿrāb* denotes 'inflection', q.v. at 2.0, but is here used in the sense of 'parsing' in which it often occurs in purely pedagogical contexts (other typical examples 5.91, 8.61-73, 14.52). The earliest occurrence of *ʿiʿrāb* in this sense is not known, but it can hardly be before the 10th century.

(2) On the various points raised here see: independence markers 3.2; original form (*ʿašl*) 8.2 n 3; reason for elision of agent 8.11 n 1; the verb's need of an agent 8.1 n 2; replacement of agent 8.1 n 1. In all this (and below) it is well worth maintaining a close comparison with the corresponding active forms in ch. 7, since active and passive differ formally only in their vowels.

8.3 (1) The full paradigm of the past tense sound verb (2.43 n 2) is displayed in 8.61-73. For hollow verbs see 8.2 n 5; weak 1st rad.

verbs are completely regular, *wujida* etc., as are weak 3rd rad. verbs, *luqiya* etc., having exactly the same endings as the active verb *laqiya* in 10.14 n 2. Here follow the imperfect tense paradigms, indep. form:

	sing.	dual	plur.
(a) sound verb <i>daraba</i> 'to strike':			
1st	'uḍrabu		nuḍrabu
2nd masc.	tuḍrabu	tuḍrabāni	tuḍrabūna
2nd fem.	tuḍrabīna		tuḍrabna
3rd masc.	yūḍrabu	yūḍrabāni	yūḍrabūna
3rd fem.	tuḍrabu	tuḍrabāni	yūḍrabna

Dep. endings same as active, 4.82 n 1, 'uḍraba etc., apoc. endings same as active, 4.82 n 2, 'uḍrab etc.

(b) weak 3rd rad. verb <i>ramā</i> 'to throw':			
1st	'urmā		nurmā
2nd masc.	turmā	turmayāni	turmawna
2nd fem.	turmayna		turmayna
3rd masc.	yurmā	yurmayāni	yurmawna
3rd fem.	turmā	turmayāni	yurmayna

Dep. endings same as active, 4.82 n 1, 'urmā etc., apoc. endings same as active, 3.92 n 1, 'urma etc. If weak 3rd rad. is w it replaces y in the above paradigm except in the 2nd fem. sing., e.g. tuḡzayna.

(c) weak 1st rad. w, <i>wajada</i> 'to find':			
1st	'ūjadu		nūjadu
2nd masc.	tūjadu	tūjadāni	tūjadūna
2nd fem.	tūjadīna		tūjadna
3rd masc.	yūjadu	yūjadāni	yūjadūna
3rd fem.	tūjadu	tūjadāni	yūjadna

Dep. endings same as active, 4.82 n 1, 'ūjada etc., apoc. endings same as active, 4.82 n 2, 'ūjad etc. On 'ūjadu = 'uwjadu see 2.43 n 2. Doubled verbs (10.61 n 1) are regular within their own system, thus past *murirtu*, *murra* (= **murira*), imperf. 'umarru etc.

(2) Full paradigms of imperfect tense in n 1, and see 8.61-73 for past tense. 'Analogy' translates *qiyās*, originally referring to the analogy practised by speakers (cf. Troupeau, *Lex.-Index*, root *q-y-s*) but soon extended to denote analogy as perceived and imposed by grammarians (Weil, intro. to *Inṣāf*, 7, Versteegh, index, root *q-y-s*). From this it has developed into a near synonym of 'aṣl (3.0 n 2), i.e. 'correct form according to the rules' (e.g. 3.412 (b), 17.4). The term itself may have entered grammar from law, which in turn probably borrowed it from a Greek source (see Versteegh, *Z.A.L.* 4, 7 for the latter aspect); see also *E.I.* (2), art. 'Ḳiyās', end.

8.31 (1) It is replaced by the paraphrase using the imperative *li* (q.v. 5.75), e.g. *li-tuḍrab* 'let you be beaten' (though this is excessively rare in all but the 3rd person).

8.4 (1) See 7.2.

8.5 (1) Syntax and concordance are the same in the passive as in the active (q.v. 7.21-30), e.g. *ḡuribat il-hindātu* 'the Hinds were struck', with fem. sing. verb as in 7.28. See 3.73 n 5 for verbs as predicates,

8.9 n 1 for 'letter' (*ḥarf*) in this context, 8.21 n 1 on 'parsing'.

8.51 (1) Cf. 5.1 n 2. The range of augmented verb stems (excluding five rare ones, on which see Fleisch 124) is as follows (3rd masc. sing. only, cf. 3.52 n 3):

	Augment	Active past/imperf.	Passive past/imperf.
I	None	<i>ḍaraba/yaḍribu</i>	<i>ḍuriba/yuḍrabu</i>
II	Double 2nd rad.	<i>ḥassana/yuḥassinu</i>	<i>ḥussina/yuḥassanu</i>
III	Long 1st vowel	<i>kātaba/yukātibu</i>	<i>kūtiba/yukātibu</i>
IV	Prefix 'a	<i>'aḥsana/yuḥsinu</i>	<i>'uḥsina/yuḥsanu</i>
V	Prefix ta to II	<i>taḥassana/yataḥassanu</i>	<i>tuḥussina/yutaḥassanu</i>
VI	Prefix ta to III	<i>takātaba/yatakātibu</i>	<i>tukūtiba/yutakātibu</i>
VII	Prefix n	<i>inkasara/yankasiru</i>	no passive
VIII	Infix t	<i>iqtaraba/yaqtaribu</i>	<i>uqturiba/yuqtarabu</i>
IX	Double 3rd rad.	<i>iḥmarra/yaḥmarru</i>	no passive
X	Prefix st	<i>istaḥsana/yastaḥsinu</i>	<i>ustuḥsina/yustaḥsanu</i>

Stems II to X are set out in the notes to 8.61 et seq. On augmented stems in Proto-Semitic see Moscati #16.1; although each augment is associated with a corresponding change in the root meaning of the verb, the system has become so irregular that generalizations can offer only a vague guide to the relationship between a simple stem and its augmented forms, but try Beeston 72, Fleisch 118, Bateson 30, Yushmanov 47, Schramm, *Language* 38, 60. For augmented stems of hollow verbs see 8.73 n 1, and for agent, patient and verbal nouns derived from augmented stems see 10.34 n 1.

8.61 (1) There being little more to add on the subject of the passive, most of the following notes will contain paradigms of the augmented verbs. Here Stem II, imperfect tense, independent form, of the sound verb *ḥassana* 'to improve' (Stem I *ḥasuna* 'to be good'):

	sing.	dual	plur.
1st	<i>'uḥassinu</i>		<i>nuḥassinu</i>
2nd masc.	<i>tuḥassinu</i>		<i>tuḥassinūna</i>
2nd fem.	<i>tuḥassinīna</i>	<i>tuḥassināni</i>	<i>tuḥassinna</i>
3rd masc.	<i>yuḥassinu</i>	<i>yuḥassināni</i>	<i>yuḥassinūna</i>
3rd fem.	<i>tuḥassinu</i>	<i>tuḥassināni</i>	<i>yuḥassinna</i>

Equally regular are: doubled verbs (*yuḥaddidu* etc.), weak 1st rad. verbs (*yuwaṣṣilu* etc.), hollow verbs (see 8.73 n 1), but weak 3rd rad. verbs all have the same endings as *yarmī* in 4.81 n 2 (b), e.g. *yusammī*, *yusammūna* etc. Stem II passive:

1st	<i>'uḥassanu</i>		<i>nuḥassanu</i>
2nd masc.	<i>tuḥassanu</i>		<i>tuḥassanūna</i>
2nd fem.	<i>tuḥassanīna</i>	<i>tuḥassanāni</i>	<i>tuḥassanna</i>
3rd masc.	<i>yuḥassanu</i>	<i>yuḥassanāni</i>	<i>yuḥassanūna</i>
3rd fem.	<i>tuḥassanu</i>	<i>tuḥassanāni</i>	<i>yuḥassanna</i>

Doubled, hollow and weak verbs are regular (*yuḥaddadu*, *yuwaṣṣalu* etc.), weak 3rd rad. verbs have same endings as *yaḳṣā* in 4.81 n 2 (a), e.g. *yusammā*, *yusammawna* etc. Past tenses both active and passive have the same suffix pronouns as Stem I, e.g. *ḥassantu*, *ḥussintu* etc.

8.62 (1) Paradigm of Stem III, active, imperfect tense, independent form, of the sound verb *kātaba* 'to write to' (Stem I *kataba* 'to write'):

	sing.	dual	plur.
1st	'ukātibu		nukātibu
2nd masc.	tukātibu		tukātibūna
2nd fem.	tukātibīna	tukātibāni	tukātibna
3rd masc.	yukātibu	yukātibāni	yukātibūna
3rd fem.	tukātibu	tukātibāni	yukātibna

Weak verbs are regular, e.g. *yuwāṣilu* etc., *yūqāwimu* etc., *yuhāmī* etc., cf. 8.61 n 1; the exception is doubled verbs, which assimilate even after the long vowel, e.g. *yuhāddu* etc., see 21.22 n 4. Passive:

	sing.	dual	plur.
1st	'ukātabu		nukātabu
2nd masc.	tukātabu		tukātabūna
2nd fem.	tukātabīna	tukātabāni	tukātabna
3rd masc.	yukātabu	yukātabāni	yukātabūna
3rd fem.	tukātabu	tukātabāni	yukātabna

Weak verbs are regular, e.g. *yuwāṣalu* etc., *yūqāwamu* etc., *yuhāmā* etc., hence doubled verbs (e.g. *yuhāddu*) are the same in the active and passive (both very rare in fact). Past tenses both active and passive have the same suffix pronouns as Stem I, e.g. *kātabtu*, *kūtibtu* etc.

8.63 (1) Paradigm of Stem IV, active, imperfect tense, independent form, of the sound verb 'aḥsana 'to do well' (Stem I ḥasuna 'to be good'):

	sing.	dual	plur.
1st	'uḥsinu		nuḥsinu
2nd masc.	tuḥsinu		tuḥsinūna
2nd fem.	tuḥsinīna	tuḥsināni	tuḥsinna
3rd masc.	yuhṣinu	yuhṣināni	yuhṣinūna
3rd fem.	tuḥsinu	tuḥsināni	yuhṣinna

Doubled verbs *yumiddu* etc., hollow verbs *yūqīmu* etc. (see 8.73 n 1), weak 1st rad. *yūjibu* etc. (= *yuwjibu*, cf. 8.3 n 1 (c)), weak 3rd rad. *yujrī* etc., same endings as *yarmī*, 4.81 n 2 (b). Note loss of prefix ' in imperfect (Fleisch 119; Yushmanov 49): the vowel sequence u-i, however, is unique to Stem IV. Passive:

	sing.	dual	plur.
1st	'uḥsanu		nuḥsanu
2nd masc.	tuḥsanu		tuḥsanūna
2nd fem.	tuḥsanīna	tuḥsanāni	tuḥsanna
3rd masc.	yuhṣanu	yuhṣanāni	yuhṣanūna
3rd fem.	tuḥsanu	tuḥsanāni	yuhṣanna

Doubled verbs *yumaddu* etc., hollow verbs *yūqāmu* etc. (see 8.73 n 1), weak 1st rad. *yūjabu* etc. (= *yuwjabu*, cf. 8.3 n 1 (c)), weak 3rd rad. *yujrā*, same endings as *yakṣā*, 4.81 n 2 (a). Note that Stem IV and Stem I are identical in imperfect tense passive (cf. paradigm, 8.3 n 1). Past tenses, active and passive, have same pronoun suffixes as Stem I, e.g. 'aḥsantu, 'uḥsintu etc.

(2) Here we follow MS C., which conflates (deliberately) the 2nd masc. and fem. (t stands for both ta and ti, cf. 7.54 n 1), a welcome abbreviation in this most tedious portion of the text. But printed editions of *Āj.* give both examples separate treatment.

8.64 (1) Paradigm of Stem V, active, imperfect tense, independent form, of the sound verb *taḥassana* 'to be improved' (cf. Stem II *ḥassana* 'to improve', transitive):

	sing.	dual	plur.
1st	'ataḥassanu		nataḥassanu
2nd masc.	tataḥassanu		tataḥassanūna
2nd fem.	tataḥassanīna	tataḥassanāni	tataḥassanna
3rd masc.	yataḥassanu	yataḥassanāni	yataḥassanūna
3rd fem.	tataḥassanu	tataḥassanāni	yataḥassanna

Equally regular are: doubled verbs, e.g. *yataḥaddadu* etc., hollow verbs (q.v. 8.73 n 1), e.g. *yataqawwamu* etc., weak 1st rad. verbs, e.g. *yatawaṣṣalu* etc.; weak 3rd rad. verbs have same endings as *yaḵṣā*, 4.81 n 2 (a), e.g. *yatamannā* etc. Passive:

	sing.	dual	plur.
1st	'utaḥassanu		nutaḥassanu
2nd masc.	tutaḥassanu		tutaḥassanūna
2nd fem.	tutaḥassanīna	tutaḥassanāni	tutaḥassanna
3rd masc.	yutaḥassanu	yutaḥassanāni	yutaḥassanūna
3rd fem.	tutaḥassanu	tutaḥassanāni	yutaḥassanna

Passive, where it occurs, is mainly in impersonal sense (q.v. 8.11 n 1). Note that passive differs only in change of prefix vowel from a to u: all verbs follow this pattern, e.g. *yutaḥaddadu*, *yutaqawwamu*, *yutawaṣṣalu*, *yutamannā* etc. Past tenses, active and passive, have the same pronoun suffixes as Stem I, e.g. *taḥassantu*, *tuhussintu* etc. (cf. 8.9 n 1).

8.65 (1) Paradigm of Stem VI, active, imperfect tense, independent form, of the sound verb *takātaba* 'to write to one another' (cf. Stem III *kātaba* 'to write to'):

	sing.	dual	plur.
1st	'atakātabu		natakātabu
2nd masc.	tatakātabu		tatakātabūna
2nd fem.	tatakātabīna	tatakātabāni	tatakātabna
3rd masc.	yatakātabu	yatakātabāni	yatakātabūna
3rd fem.	tatakātabu	tatakātabāni	yatakātabna

Doubled verbs almost non-existent, hollow verbs regular (cf. 8.73 n 1), e.g. *yatajāwaru* etc., likewise weak 1st rad. verbs, e.g. *yatawaṣṣalu* etc.; weak 3rd rad. verbs have same endings as *yaḵṣā*, 4.81 n 2 (a), e.g. *yataḥāmā* etc. Passive:

	sing.	dual	plur.
1st	'utakātabu		nutakātabu
2nd masc.	tutakātabu		tutakātabūna
2nd fem.	tutakātabīna	tutakātabāni	tutakātabna
3rd masc.	yutakātabu	yutakātabāni	yutakātabūna
3rd fem.	tutakātabu	tutakātabāni	yutakātabna

Other verbs show the same change of prefix vowel from a to u (cf. Stem V), e.g. *yutajāwaru*, *yutawaṣṣalu*, *yutaḥāmā* etc. Past tenses, active and passive, have the same suffix pronouns as Stem I, e.g. *takātabtu*, *tukūtibtu* etc.

(2) See 7.56 n 2 on the problems of segmenting the 2nd person agent pronoun suffixes.

8.66 (1) Paradigm of Stem VII, active, imperfect tense, independent form, of the sound verb *inkasara* 'to break' (intransitive, contrast Stem I *kasara* 'to break', transitive):

	sing.	dual	plur.
1st	<i>'ankasiru</i>		<i>nankasiru</i>
2nd masc.	<i>tankasiru</i>	<i>tankasirāni</i>	<i>tankasirūna</i>
2nd fem.	<i>tankasirīna</i>		<i>tankasirna</i>
3rd masc.	<i>yankasiru</i>	<i>yankasirāni</i>	<i>yankasirūna</i>
3rd fem.	<i>tankasiru</i>	<i>tankasirāni</i>	<i>yankasirna</i>

Doubled verbs are regular within their own system, e.g. *yanḡammu* etc., likewise hollow verbs, e.g. *yanḡādu* etc. and weak 3rd rad. verbs, e.g. *yanbarī* etc. (with same endings as *yarmī*, 4.81 n 2 (b)); but weak 1st rad. verbs do not form Stem VII, see further below. There is no passive of Stem VII.

Stem VII has the following peculiarities: (a) it is not formed from verbs whose first radical is *r*, *l*, *n*, *w*, *y*. In the rare cases where *m* is the first radical there may be assimilation of the prefix *n*, e.g. *inmā^{Ca} > immā^{Ca}* 'to melt'.

(b) The prefix *n* forms a consonant cluster with the first radical: in the imperfect tense this causes no problems, as the vowel of the personal prefix allows the *n* to close the syllable (*yan-ka-si-ru*, cf. 2.5 n 3). But in the past tense, **nkasartu* etc., the initial consonant cluster must be resolved by prefixing an empty syllable, pronounced and spelt 'i only in utterance initial position, otherwise retained in the spelling (cf. 2.14 n 2) but elided in pronunciation, cf. 5.2 n 3. The same applies to the other Stems whose augment creates an initial consonant cluster, viz. VIII, IX and X.

8.67 (1) The terminology of the passive (cf. 8.0 n 1) is somewhat inconsistent. The chronology appears to be as follows:

(a) *mā lam yusamma fā^Ciluh* 'that whose agent has not been named' and *mabnī li-l-maf^Cūl* 'constructed for the direct object' are early terms from the period when grammar was mainly structural in approach.

(b) *an-nā'ib^C an il-fā^Cil* 'the deputy agent' is ascribed to Ibn Mālik (d. 1274, v. 8.0 n 3): the need for this term may have arisen from the lumping together of all independent forms of the noun for pedagogical reasons, calling for a distinction between agents of active and passive verbs.

(c) *majhūl* 'unknown' is perhaps only a shorthand version of *mā lam yusamma fā^Ciluh*, and seems to have been introduced very late (although Abū Ḥayyān, d. 1344, associates it with the early grammarian al-Kisā'ī, q.v. 18.0 n 2; *Manhaj as-sālik*, ed. S. Glazer, 1947, 114).

One thing seems clear, however, and that is that there are no obvious Greek models for these terms.

(2) In other words, why *a* is used for the masc. sing., *i* for the fem. sing. etc., cf. 7.54 n 1. See also 7.56 n 2 on the transliteration problems with the 2nd person agent pronoun suffixes.

8.68 (1) Paradigm of Stem VIII, active, imperfect tense, independent form, of the sound verb *iqtaraba* 'to approach' (cf. Stem I *qaruba* 'to be near'):

	sing.	dual	plur.
1st	'aqtaribu		naqtaribu
2nd masc.	taqtaribu		taqtaribūna
2nd fem.	taqtaribīna	taqtaribāni	taqtaribna
3rd masc.	yaqtaribu	yaqtaribāni	yaqtaribūna
3rd fem.	taqtaribu	taqtaribāni	yaqtaribna

Doubled verbs are regular, e.g. *yamtaddu* etc., likewise hollow verbs (8.73 n 1), e.g. *yajtāzu* etc., and weak 3rd rad. verbs, e.g. *yantamī* etc. (same endings as *yarmī*, 4.81 n 2 (b)); for weak 1st rad. verbs see 10.68 n 2. Passive:

	sing.	dual	plur.
1st	'uqtarabu		nuqtarabu
2nd masc.	tuqtarabu		tuqtarabūna
2nd fem.	tuqtarabīna	tuqtarabāni	tuqtarabna
3rd masc.	yuqtarabu	yuqtarabāni	yuqtarabūna
3rd fem.	tuqtarabu	tuqtarabāni	yuqtarabna

Other verbs show same vowel sequence u-a-a (cf. 8.9 n 2), e.g. doubled verbs *yumtaddu* etc., hollow verbs *yujtāzu* etc., weak 3rd rad. verbs *yuntamā* etc. (same endings as *yaḡṣā*, 4.81 n 2 (a)). Past tenses, both active and passive, have the same suffix pronouns as Stem I, e.g. *iqtarabtu*, *uqturibtu* (see 8.66 n 1 (b) on the initial consonant cluster).

Note that the infix *t* of Stem VIII assimilates with some 1st radicals, either wholly, e.g. *iḡḡakara* (*ḡ-k-r*) or partially, e.g. *iṣṭabara* (*ṣ-b-r*), *izdahara* (*z-h-r*), see Yushmanov 54, Fleisch, Tr. #15c-k. For assimilation to 1st rad. ' , *w* (e.g. *ittazana* from *w-z-n*) see 10.68 n 2.

8.69 (1) Paradigm of Stem IX, active, imperfect tense, independent form, of the sound verb *iḥmarra* 'to go red' (cf. adj. 'aḥmaru 'red'):

	sing.	dual	plur.
1st	'aḥmarru		naḥmarru
2nd masc.	taḥmarru		taḥmarrūna
2nd fem.	taḥmarrīna	taḥmarrāni	taḥmarirna
3rd masc.	yaḥmarru	yaḥmarrāni	yaḥmarrūna
3rd fem.	taḥmarru	taḥmarrāni	yaḥmarirna

Doubled verbs have no Stem IX, hollow verbs (8.73 n 1) are regular, e.g. *yaswaddu* etc., weak 1st and 3rd rad. verbs are hardly seen. There is no passive of Stem IX. Its past tense is regular, see below.

Stem IX has two peculiarities: (a) the doubled 3rd radical follows the behaviour of the regular doubled verb (q.v. 10.61 n 1), i.e. assimilation before vowels (e.g. past tense *iḥmarra*), dissimilation before consonants (e.g. past tense *iḥmarartu*); (b) it is derived only from roots denoting colours or physical defects, q.v. 3.411 n 7(d). The initial consonant cluster is resolved as in Stem VII, 8.66 n 1.

8.70 (1) Here and in 8.71, 8.72, *mawḍi^c* 'function' (3.1 n 4) occurs, although in similar contexts elsewhere the term *maḥall* 'status' has been preferred (e.g. 7.60, 7.71), doubtless because *aṣ-ṣirbīnī* is here following *al-Azharī*, *Āj.* 55; cf. also 5.84 n 4.

8.71 (1) Here for once the MSS may be more reliable than the printed text of aš-Širbīnī's immediate source (al-Azhārī, Āj. 56): both read 'aḵalla bi 'has omitted' against the printed 'adḵala bi 'has introduced into' (?) or 'udḵila bi 'has been introduced into' (?), neither of which are very comfortable in this context. From Ibn Ājurrūm's point of view the example is unnecessary, as the dual agent pronoun ā is of common gender and has already been illustrated in 8.70.

(2) Here 'particle', ḥarf, clearly has the sense of 'morpheme', cf. 1.25 n 2.

8.72 (1) Paradigm of Stem X, active, imperfect tense, independent form, of the sound verb istaḥsana 'to approve' (cf. Stem I ḥasuna 'to be good'):

	sing.	dual	plur.
1st	'astaḥsinu		nastaḥsinu
2nd masc.	tastaḥsinu		tastaḥsinūna
2nd fem.	tastaḥsinīna	tastaḥsināni	tastaḥsinna
3rd masc.	yastaḥsinu	yastaḥsināni	yastaḥsinūna
3rd fem.	tastaḥsinu	tastaḥsināni	yastaḥsinna

Doubled verbs yastamirru etc., hollow verbs (8.73 n 1) yastaqīmu etc., weak 1st rad. verbs yastawjibu etc., weak 3rd rad. verbs yastaḥlī etc., same endings as yarmī, 4.81 n 2 (b). Passive:

1st	'ustaḥsanu		nustaḥsanu
2nd masc.	tustaḥsanu		tustaḥsanūna
2nd fem.	tustaḥsanīna	tustaḥsanāni	tustaḥsanna
3rd masc.	yustaḥsanu	yustaḥsanāni	yustaḥsanūna
3rd fem.	tustaḥsanu	tustaḥsanāni	yustaḥsanna

Doubled verbs yustamaru etc., hollow verbs yustaḡāmu etc., weak 1st rad. verbs yustawjibu etc., weak 3rd rad. verbs yustaḡlā etc., same endings as yaḡṣā, 4.81 n 2 (a). Past tenses, active and passive, have the same suffix pronouns as Stem I, e.g. istaḥsantu, ustaḡsintu etc. The initial consonant cluster is resolved as in Stem VII, 8.66 n 1.

(2) See 7.61 n 2.

8.73 (1) Hollow verbs, augmented Stems, past and imperfect tenses:

	active		passive
II	sawwada/yusawwidu	'blacken'	suwwida/yusawwadu
	bayyaḡa/yubayyiḡu	'whiten'	buyyiḡa/yubayyiḡu
III	jāwara/yujāwiru	'adjoin'	jūwira/yujāwaru
	sāyara/yusāyiru	'go beside'	sūyira/yusāyaru
IV	'ajāba/yujību	'answer'	'ujība/yujābu
V	tasawwada/yatasawwadu	'be blackened'	tusuwwida/yutasawwadu
	tabayyaḡa/yatabayyiḡu	'be whitened'	tubuyyiḡa/yutabayyiḡu
VI	tajāwara/yatajāwaru	'adjoin o.a.'	tujūwira/yutajāwaru
	tasāyara/yatasāyaru	'go beside o.a.'	tusūyira/yutasāyaru
VII	inqāda/yanqādu	'be led'	no passive
VIII	ijtāza/yajtāzu	'traverse'	ujtīza/yujtāzu
IX	iswadda/yaswaddu	'go black'	no passive
	ibyaḡḡa/yabyaḡḡu	'go white'	no passive
X	istamāla/yastamīlu	'incline'	ustumīla/yustamālu

Conjugation of Stems II, III, V, VI is completely regular, see notes above. Stem IX behaves like a 'doubled verb' (q.v. 10.61 n 1). Stems IV, VII, VIII, X shorten the long internal vowel when the 3rd radical is followed by a consonant (i.e. is unvowelled and syllable-final), contrast 'ajāba: 'ajabtu, ijtāza: ijtaztu, yanqādu: yanqadna, yastamīlu: yastamil and see further 10.23 n 2.

In Stems IV, VII, VIII, X radicals *w* and *y* are neutralized, thus 'ajāba from *j-w-b*, 'ahāba from *h-y-b* etc. Occasional anomalies: Stems IV, VIII and X sometimes show *w* retaining its consonantal (i.e. syllable-initial) status, e.g. 'aḥwaja/yuḥwiju 'to need', i^Ctawara/ya^Ctawiru 'to befall', istaḥwaga/yastaḥwigu 'to overwhelm'.

8.8 (1) This is a repeat of 7.7 with the active verbs passivized and, like that paragraph and most of this chapter, is taken directly from al-Azharī, Āj. 56. On bound pronouns see 11.715, free pronouns 11.716.

8.9 (1) 'Letter' here is an explanatory translation of 'awwal 'first' and 'ākhar 'last', standing for ḥarf 'particle' in its narrower meaning of 'consonant' or 'radical' (1.25 n 2 and see also 5.31). With trisyllabic verb stems (viz. Stems V, VI, VIII, X) the *u* is repeated, e.g. tuḥussina so that a more useful statement of the vowels of the passive would be u-(u)-i. Note that there is only one pattern of passive vowels for all the various active vowel sequences.

(2) The imperfect tense vowel sequence for the passive is uniformly u-a-(a)-(a), with repetition of a if the stem is polysyllabic, e.g. yutaḥassanu. Dependent and apocopated endings are the same as for the active verb, see paradigms in 4.82 nn 1, 2. Note again that in the passive there is no variation of stem vowel as in the active (10.22 n 2).

9.0 (1) *Jum.* 48; *Muf.* #24; *Alf.* v 113; *Qaṭr* 119; Beeston 63; *Fleisch* 166; *Bateson* 46; *Yushmanov* 64. The terminology is diffuse, perhaps reflecting historical differences. On 'predication' ('isnād, ibtidā') see 9.12 n 2; 'subject' (mubtada', musnad) 9.01 n 1; 'predicate' (kabar, mabnī ^Calayh, musnad 'ilayh) 9.1 n 1; 'nominal sentence' 9.24 n 2.

9.01 (1) The term mubtada' (in full mubtada' bih 'what is begun with) is unmistakably structural (see further 9.12 n 2) and so, originally, must have been musnad, lit. 'propped up', i.e. thing on which a predicate is based, but the latter very soon became entangled with the imported concept of 'proposition' (cf. Versteegh 72, 9.11 n 1). However the logicians' term for 'subject' is mawḍū^C, a literal translation of hypokeimenon, which eliminates Aristotelian logic as a source for the grammatical term, but hardly 'confirms' Stoic influence (Versteegh 74).

(2) See 9.11 for the dispute about nominal sentence operators.

(3) This does not mean elided predicates (q.v. 9.93-95), but the type 'a-qā'imun iz-zaydāni 'standing, the two Zayds?'. Here qā'imun (masc. sing.) is a subject (it cannot be an inverted predicate because it does not concord with the dual az-zaydāni, but follows instead the rules for verb-agent concord, 7.22 n 1), and its predicate is dispensed with by az-zaydāni, the agent of the verb implicit in qā'imun 'standing'; cf. Ibn ʿAqīl on Alf. v 114, Qaṭr 120. On waṣf 'descriptive element' see 11.0 n 1.

9.02 (1) 'Plain noun' is a literal translation of *ism ʿarīḥ*, a term perhaps coined no earlier than the 10th century (cf. Ibn Jinnī, d. 1002, *Kitāb al-luma*^C, ed. H. M. Keshrida, Uppsala 1976, 23), possibly to avoid overworking the term *ẓāhir* 'overt, explicit' (7.2 n 1).

(2) 'Paraphrase of a plain noun' renders *al-mu'awwal bi-ṣ-ṣarīḥ*, lit. 'what can be interpreted by a plain noun', which comes very close to the contemporary notion of 'noun phrase', cf. Beeston 34, 56, Fleisch 201.

(3) S. 2 v 184; note the application of the substitution principle, and that the paraphrasing appears to operate in both directions. On the 'fusion' of 'an with its verb see 5.41, 10.23 n 3.

9.03 (1) As set out in 7.0, agents, though independent in form, are operated upon by their verbs (but cf. 9.11).

(2) With *kāna* and its related verbs (see 10.1) the original subject of an equational sentence assumes the function of an agent.

(3) Cf. 7.11 for agents with redundant particles. By 'and the like' aṣ-ṣirbīnī means such particles as *rubba* 'many a...' (1.706), e.g. *rubba rajulin ṣāliḥin laqītuḥu* 'many a good man have I met' (see 9.75 for verb phrase as predicate), and a rare case of *laʿalla* 'perhaps' (cf. 26.1 n 5) followed by an oblique noun, viz. *laʿalla 'abī l-miḡwāri minka qarībun* 'perhaps Abū Miḡwār is a relative of yours' (al-Azharī, *Taṣr.* I, 156).

(4) S. 35 v 3. This *min*, like that in 7.11, retains its primitive meaning of 'part' (1.701 n 1), and *min kāliqin* is equivalent to 'some member of the class "creator"'. Though treated here as redundant, this *min* is undoubtedly a variety of the 'partitive *min*', q.v. 5.82 n 3.

(5) Since *bi* often denotes price (e.g. 19.33) we might translate here 'the worth of your account is a dirham', thus retaining the original subject-predicate sequence of the Arabic (but cf. 9.73 n 1).

9.1 (1) All three terms for predicate, viz. *kabar* (lit. 'information'), *maḥnī ʿalayh* (lit. 'based on it', cognate with *bināʿ*, 1.41 n 4) and *musnad ʿilayh* (lit. 'propped up on it', i.e. on the subject) are part of the earliest grammatical vocabulary (v. Troupeau, *Lex.-Index*, roots *ḥ-b-r*, *b-n-y*, *s-n-d*). But the *s-n-d* set is very rare in the *Kitāb* and may represent either a later gloss or a tradition that failed to penetrate (contrast Versteegh 73). See also next note.

9.11 (1) Leaving aside the group *musnad/musnad 'ilayh/'isnād*, which plays almost no role in the earliest grammar that we have (Sībawayhi), it is clear that the equational sentence (q.v. 9.12 n 3) has from the first been analysed on two levels: (a) with regard to its structure it consists of an initial element (*mubtada'*, 9.01 n 1) on which the second element is syntactically based (*mabnī 'alayh*, 9.1 n 1), and (b) with regard to its purpose the same initial element supplies the topic of the information (*ḵabar*, 9.1 n 1) about it (from which the subject is sometimes termed *muḵbar 'anhu* 'informed about', syn. *muḥaddaṭ 'anhu*, lit. 'spoken about'). At no time, however, is the equational sentence treated by Sībawayhi as a proposition: not until al-Mubarrad (*Muqtaḍab* III, 89) does falsifiability appear as a criterion of a sentence (cf. Versteegh 72; E.I. (2), art. '*Ḵabar*', and see also 12.41).

(2) *Inṣāf*, prob. 5, reveals that the 'soundest view' is that of the 'Baṣrans' (9.4 n 3), the second that of the 'Kūfans' and the third that of a minority of Baṣrans.

9.12 (1) It might help to know, since aṣ-Ṣīrbīnī does not mention it, that in number and gender the predicative adjective follows the same concordance rules as the attributive adjective (q.v. 11.1); for case and definition see next note.

(2) The equational sentence has no copula (to add time reference a different structure is used, q.v. 10.11); on the other hand the mere juxtaposition of two elements need not constitute a subject-predicate utterance (cf. 9.81). What is not clearly stated by aṣ-Ṣīrbīnī (no doubt because it was obvious to him and implicit in the examples anyway) is that the subject must always be defined, either by nature (pronoun, proper name) by form (def. article, annexation) or by context (cf. 9.81 n 3), and that, in general, predicates are undefined (cf. 10.21 n 2). Moreover, apart from the exceptions in 9.03 and ch. 10, both subject and predicate have independent form. The rules are necessarily strict: no predicate can succeed if the subject is too vague for the listener to identify (cf. 1.13); hence if there is (to our way of thinking) an undefined subject as the topic of a defined predicate, the latter will be brought forward into the subject position, e.g. *fi d-dāri rajulun* 'in the house is a man' (but see 9.73 n 1 for Beeston's view that there is no inversion here). It was recognized very early (e.g. by al-Ḳalīl, q.v. 0.1 n 1, quoted in *Kitāb* I, 394) that the 'act of beginning', *ibtidā'*, arouses in the listener the expectation of a predicate: in other words *ibtidā'* is not only the name of a linguistic event but also of a highly ritualized social gesture (cf. Carter, J.A.O.S. 93, 149).

(3) For these allomorphs see 3.43 and 3.4 respectively.

(4) Note that (a) sound and broken plural occur indifferently in the predicates here, and (b) the broken plural forms are of common gender. Neither of these phenomena is fully understood (dialect differences may be part of the answer: try E. Kahle, *Studien zur Syntax des Adjektivs im vorklassischen Arabischen*, (Diss.) Erlangen 1975).

9.2 (1) Compare the categories of agent in 7.2.

9.21 (1) The position of the bracket in the translation is negotiable: it could well read '(i.e. the first element in the above examples)'.

9.22 (1) Cf. the free agent pronouns in 7.7, and also 9.83.

(2) Here (and in 5.3, 7.4, 11.71 only) the names of the persons are left in literal translation. The Arabic terms are:

	sing.	dual	plur.
1st	<i>al-mutakallim</i> <i>waḥdah</i>		<i>al-mutakallim</i> <i>wa-ma^Cah ḡayruh</i>
2nd masc.	<i>al-muḡāṭab</i>	<i>al-muḡāṭabān</i>	<i>al-muḡāṭabūn</i>
2nd fem.	<i>al-muḡāṭaba</i>	<i>al-muḡāṭabatān</i>	<i>al-muḡāṭabāt</i>
3rd masc.	<i>al-ḡā'ib</i>	<i>al-ḡā'ibān</i>	<i>al-ḡā'ibūn</i>
3rd fem.	<i>al-ḡā'iba</i>	<i>al-ḡā'ibatān</i>	<i>al-ḡā'ibāt</i>

(3) See 3.44 n 2 on spelling instructions.

(4) On pronouns in general see 11.71, and in particular: bound indep. pronoun, *ḡamīr muttaṣil marfū^C*, 7.5; bound dep. pronoun, *ḡamīr muttaṣil maṣṣūb*, 16.3; bound oblique pronoun, *ḡamīr muttaṣil majrūr*, 4.72 n 2; free indep. pronoun, *ḡamīr munfaṣil marfū^C*, 7.7, 9.22; free dep. pronoun, *ḡamīr munfaṣil maṣṣūb*, 16.5; concealed pronoun, *ḡamīr mustatir*, 7.58 n 1, 11.712; visible pronoun, *ḡamīr bārīz*, 11.715.

9.23 (1) S. 19 v 74. The anomaly here is the occurrence of the sing. adjective '*aḡsanu* 'better' as the predicate of the plur. *hum* 'they'. This, however, is the normal syntax with the 'relative' adjective (see 20.4 and notes), and one wonders whether the phrase has attracted attention more for rhetorical than grammatical reasons. It may be that the specifying element '*aṭāṭan* 'as to property' is at the root of the problem, since according to the rules of this structure (20.41) it implies the paraphrase *yaḡsunu 'aṭāṭuhum* 'their property is good', which predicates a human quality (goodness, i.e. moral) of an inanimate object. The confusion arises because, in this structure, the relative adjective is formally a predicate of its subject (here *hum*) but at the same time is semantically a predicate of its specifying element (viz. '*aṭāṭan*, cf. *huwa 'ajmalu wajhan* 'he is more handsome as to face'). The objection that *ḡasan* 'good' is so vague that it can freely be applied to property (and '*aṭāṭ* means specifically household furniture) is plausible, but would have to be supported by a better explanation of why this Qur'anic phrase sounds so awkward!

9.24 (1) 'Predominant usage' translates *al-ḡālib*, lit. 'that which predominates, prevailing', on which see 3.65 n 12. Inversion is rare with pronouns (cf. Wright II, 257).

(2) Here is an opportunity to contrast the structures of the 'nominal sentence' (*jumla ismiyya*) and the 'verbal sentence' (*jumla fi^Cliyya* cf. 7.1 n 1, 7.12 n 1). These categories are entirely formal: all sentences beginning with nouns are nominal sentences (including those prefixed with '*inna* and similar particles, q.v. 10.4, and those whose first element is a prepositional phrase, q.v. 9.73 n 1), while verbal

sentences are simply those whose first element is a verb (including verbs subordinated by particles, q.v. 5.34, and verb phrases in the function of predicates of nominal sentences, q.v. 9.75). Elision of subject or predicate is possible (9.9), but not of verb or agent: on semantic grounds because no act can exist without an actor, and on structural grounds because agent pronouns are bound morphemes (7.5).

(3) All pronouns are invariable, but recognizable as nouns by their function (e.g. as agents, 7.5, 7.7, in annexation, 11.718 n 2). For invariability, *binā'*, see 1.41 n 4.

9.3 (1) The urge to calculate total combinations of elements is a relatively late phenomenon in grammar: Ibn Bābašāḡ (d. 1077) gives the figure of sixty pronouns in his *Muqaddima* (Brit. Mus. Add. 918, fol. 16r), and his contemporary al-Jurjānī (d. 1078) reduced the whole of syntax to exactly one hundred operators! The motive is clear: not only is enumeration a useful aide-mémoire, it also establishes the limits of the material to be taught (i.e. what is 'Arabic' and what is not). In origin it may be connected with the propositional calculus in the scholastic processing of the *Organon* which the Arabs inherited from Greek, cf. F.W.Zimmermann in *Islamic Philosophy and the Classical Tradition, Essays presented to R.Walzer*, ed. S.M.Stern etc., Oxford 1972, 517f. For further and more extreme examples in grammar cf. as-Suyūṭī, *Aṣḥāḥ* II, 120, III, 96. In an anonymous parsing exercise of about the same period as aṣ-Širbīnī a single verse of poetry is calculated to have 1,800,000 possible parsings! (Carter, *Islamic Quarterly* 18, 11).

(2) Of these, twenty-four are in 7.4, twelve in 16.3 and another twelve in 16.5; the remaining twelve (oblique pronouns) are mentioned only in passing, see 4.72 n 2. Note that, for simplification, the 'visible' pronouns include those which are, strictly, 'concealed' (v. 7.58 n 1).

9.4 (1) From 9.3 to 9.44 are repeated, with slight variations, in 11.718 and 11.719, and are evidently adapted from al-Azharī, *Taṣr.* I, 103-4. Notes here and in 11.718-9 are complementary.

(2) See 11.719 n 2 on the segmentation of '*anā*'.

(3) After the foundation of Baghdad (762), grammar was artificially polarized into two opposing 'schools', named 'Baṣran' and 'Kūfan' after the two cities of Baṣra and Kūfa, whose cultural supremacy was eclipsed by the new capital of the empire. The two schools may be interpreted as representing contrary attitudes to language: 'Baṣrans' are rigidly normative and orthodox, 'Kūfans' are descriptive and heterodox (cf. G. Weil, Introduction to *Inṣāf*, Carter, *Arabica* 20, esp. 299-304).

(4) See 1.02 n 2 on Ibn Mālik.

9.41 (1) See 11.719 n 4 on the segmentation of '*anta*' etc.

(2) On the grammarians mentioned in this paragraph see 9.4 n 3 for 'Baṣrans', 1.21 n 2 for al-Farrā', 12.6 n 3 for Ibn Kaysān.

9.42 (1) The text has only *al-hā'* 'the *h*', the vowels having been taken for granted (cf. 4.81 n 1); in their concern to isolate *h* as a 3rd

person marker the 'Kūfans' (9.4 n 3) fortuitously agree with Trager and Rice (*Language* 30, 227), who set up a single morphophoneme for *wa* and *ya* (cf. also *Inṣāf* prob. 96). Contrast Moscati #13.9.

9.43 (1) Cf. the segmentation (or rather the lack of it) in the 2nd person dual agent suffix *tumā* in 7.55. For Trager and Rice (op. cit. 226) the question of why a dual morpheme is suffixed to a plural does not arise.

(2) See 10.71 on Abū ʿAlī al-Fārisī; the immediate source for the attribution is al-Azharī, *Taṣr.* I, 103, but I have not been able to trace the idea in the available works of al-Fārisī.

9.44 (1) The similarity between the series *hum*, *hunna*, *humā* (which are also object suffixes, v. 16.310-312) and the object suffixes *kum*, *kunna* and *kumā* (16.305-307) justifies the synchronic analysis of Trager and Rice (*Language* 30, 225-6), but see 7.57 n 1 on the fem. plur. **um-na*. On the form *humū* see 10.66 n 2: the reasoning here is that, just as *humū* ends in two consonants (see 2.43 n 2 on *ū*), so does *hunna*, a good example of the way theory can lose touch with reality (cf. *Inṣāf* p 23).

9.5 (1) As befits the work, these are purely formal categories. *Kitāb* I, 278 has a different classification: predicates are either identical with their subjects (*ṣay* 'huwa huwa 'something which it is itself') or are space/time qualifiers (*ẓarf*, 'container' of the subject, v. ch.18). Beeston's table of predicate types (69) does not materially depart from this, as the extra items (when not already subdivisions of the original categories, e.g. into participial and non-participial predicates) are the result of including verbal sentence predicates (7.12) and inversions (9.73 n 1). Cf. also D. Cohen, 'Les formes du prédicat en arabe et la théorie de la phrase chez les anciens grammairiens', in *Mélanges Marcel Cohen*, The Hague/Paris 1970, 224.

(2) The comment is necessary because *mufrad*, here 'simple' is also used for 'singular' and 'single', see 23.431 n 1. Similarly *murakkab*, here 'complex', also serves for 'compound' and 'composite', see 1.12 n 1.

9.6 (1) On expansions of simple predicates see n 2, and cf. 9.02-03. Though verbs are orthographically single words they cannot be included here among the one-term predicates, and are dealt with under complex predicates (esp. 9.82). On the other hand, participles and adjectives (which in the Arab view also contain agent pronouns, 11.45) make simple predicates (cf. *Inṣāf* prob. 7 for an extreme case).

(2) Certain expansions of simple predicates (which also function as agents, cf. 7.02) are ignored or taken for granted by aṣ-Ṣirbīnī, viz. (a) nouns qualified by adjectives, e.g. *zaydun ṣadīqun muḵliṣun* 'Zayd is a loyal friend', (b) annexation units, e.g. *allāhu rabbunā* 'God is our Lord' (9.02, and see 9.74 n 2 on the difference between this unit and the structurally identical prepositional phrase), (c) sentences with 'an (5.41) and 'anna (10.42) 'that', e.g. *al-'arjaḥu 'an yajī'a* or 'annahu yajī'u 'the most likely thing is that he is coming', (d) relative sentences, e.g. *huwa llaḍī yajī'u* 'he is the one who is coming'.

9.7 (1) These are not expansions of single terms (contrast 9.6 n 2). 'Sentence equivalent' (v. 9.74) renders *šibh al-jumla* 'quasi-sentence'.

9.71 (1) Both categories are, to our way of thinking, prepositional phrases, but the Arabs distinguish them on the grounds that operators of obliqueness are one-function particles (1.7, 26.1), while space/time qualifiers are full nouns and may have other functions (v. 18.4 n 2).

(2) The comment here seems to be aš-Širbīnī's own paraphrase of al-Azharī, *Taṣr.* I, 166. 'Structurally complete' translates *tāmm*, lit. 'complete, perfect', antonym *nāqis*, lit. 'lacking, defective', hence 'structurally defective' (but see 10.11 n 3); on 'semantically connected', *mutaʿalliq*, see 5.82 n 6 and cf. 9.74. 'Reasonable' is *jāʿiz*, lit. 'permissible', a term which in the latter sense was borrowed from law into grammar, but which also came to be used by logicians for 'reasonable', i.e. permitted by the laws of thought, as here. Cf. 9.8 n 2.

(3) Somewhat casually aš-Širbīnī invokes here two quite different types of structurally defective elements: (a) the prepositional phrase, which is made meaningful by citing the verb to which it is semantically connected, and (b) the relative (*mawṣūl*, see 11.752 n 1), which is incomplete without an attached clause, supplied in the present example by the verb phrases *sakana* '(he) lived' and *marra* '(he) passed'. In neither case is the prepositional phrase or space/time qualifier essential for the structural completeness of the utterance (nor is the function of relative clauses limited to that of agent as here).

9.72 (1) See further 9.75-76. It is possible for a sentence predicate to contain a maximum of one embedded sentence, e.g. *hāḡiḡi l-qarāratu ẓāhīruḡa fīḡi raḡmatun* 'these decisions superficially contain mercy', lit. 'these decisions, their exterior, in it is mercy', where the sentence 'in it is mercy' is a predicate of 'their exterior' and the whole is a predicate of 'these decisions' (example from Beeston, *Language* 50, 476, where further discussion). Cf. also 9.76 n 1.

9.73 (1) Such sentences must be inverted if the subject is undefined, e.g. *fī d-dāri rajulun* 'in the house is a man'. Beeston 68, however, does not see this as inversion, but as predicating 'a man' of 'in the house' (to paraphrase his own words, 'stating what sort of a thing the house contains'). This is psychologically plausible, but leaves to be explained such genuine inversions as *inna fī d-dāri rajulan* 'verily in the house is a man', where *rajulan* still has dependent form as the subject operated on by *inna* (10.41). In *Inṣāf* prob. 6, the question is discussed from an entirely different point of view: the 'Baṣrans' (9.4 n 3) argue that *fī d-dāri rajulun* is pure inversion with *rajulun* 'a man' still the subject, while the 'Kūfans' claim that *rajulun* is the agent of the verb implied by the prepositional phrase (cf. 9.74 n 2).

9.74 (1) On the terminology of this paragraph, which inevitably evokes notions of deep structure and compulsory deletion, see 2.101 n 2 for *taqḡīr*, lit. 'estimating' (i.e. recovering implicit elements), 3.73 n 2 for *ḡaḡf* 'elision', 9.8 n 2 for *wuḡūb* 'compulsion' and 5.82 n 6 for *mutaʿalliq* 'semantically connected'. Cf. also 19.25 n 1.

(2) The participial paraphrase results in a simple predicate because *kā'inun* 'being' and *mustaqirrun* 'being situated', though too vague to fulfil the criterion of informativeness (1.13) are single terms structurally sufficient to constitute a formal predicate without the prepositional phrase, cf. *zaydun jālisun* (*ʿindaka*) 'Zayd is sitting (with you)'. From this we may deduce that only noun and verb phrases may function as predicates, and that prepositional phrases are always dependent on a verb or its equivalent (cf. 9.71). Prepositional phrases thus differ from annexation units in that the former are not expansions of (or replaceable by) single nouns (i.e. are exocentric), while annexation units are endocentric. For simplicity's sake *aš-Širbīnī* (following al-Azharī, *Taṣr.* I, 166) subsumes the participial paraphrase (= simple predicate) under verbal sentence predicates, to which it strictly does not belong (cf. 9.6 n 1).

(3) The verbal paraphrase actually results in a sentence predicate of the type set out in 9.75, q.v. for further discussion. On concealed pronoun agents see 7.58 n 1; on *ʿā'id* 'referring' see 11.752 n 1.

9.75 (1) The translation somewhat obscures the structure: it might be rendered literally 'Zayd: stood his father'. This is the so-called *jumla ḡāt wajhayn*, lit. 'sentence with two faces', so named because the major (grammatical) subject is different from the minor (logical) subject contained in the predicate sentence. D. Cohen, op. cit. 9.5 n 1, esp. 225f, argues that these are not true nominal sentences, since the noun, far from 'dominating' the sentence as it should, is merely the anticipatory exponent of a pronoun in the predicate. Cf. 9.76 n 1.

(2) 'Link' here is a fairly literal translation of *rābiṭ* (cf. 5.86 n 3 on this and its synonym *rābiṭa*). It seems to have replaced the older term *sabab* 'tie, link' (also 'cause', 24.22 n 1), which once had a wide application (cf. Carter, *B.S.O.A.S.* 35, 488), but was eventually restricted to an adjectival construction which happens to be formally identical with these complex predicate structures (see 11.5).

9.76 (1) This and the type in 9.75 are given only passing mention by most Western authorities (Beeston 70, Fleisch 169, Wright II, 256; only Reckendorf, *Synt. Verh.* 782 is at all expansive). Bravmann, op. cit. 7.63 n 1, 1, explains them thus: the 'Isolated Natural Subject' (Reckendorf's term) was originally the topic of a question, with the ensuing sentence forming the answer (*'Zayd? His servant-girl is going'). The once independent sentence has become subordinate, and is now a relative clause functioning as a predicate (*'Zayd is the one whose servant-girl is going'). Though identical in structure with relative clauses and the adjectival pattern in 11.5, the Arabs do not use *ʿā'id* for the referential pronoun (11.752) but the imported term *rābiṭ* (9.75 n 2, and cf. Lewcowicz, *Language* 47, esp. 818). Certainly it is no help to speak of 'phrases brisées' (Fleisch) or 'ein Riss im Satz' (Reckendorf).

9.8 (1) 'Norm' renders *ʿaṣl*, q.v. 3.0 n 2. The other two 'states' (*hālāt*, 11.2 n 1) are inversion (not dealt with by *aš-Širbīnī*, but cf. 9.73 n 1, 19.73 n 1) and elision, q.v. 9.9.

(2) There are two poles of constraint in Arabic grammar: (a) *wājib* 'compulsory', as here, opposed to *jā'iz* 'permissible' (cf. 9.9 n 1), also 'optional', and (b) *iḍṭirār* lit. 'being forced', i.e. 'poetic licence' (v. 11.715 n 2), opposed to *iḵtiyār* lit. 'free choice', hence 'elective' (1.51), 'unconstrained' (7.5). All are legal borrowings.

9.81 (1) 'Contextual indication' is *qarīna*, q.v. 11.7 n 1; note the principle of collocation invoked here.

(2) Where both subject and predicate are defined they may be separated by an appropriate pronoun, e.g. *zaydun huwa l-qā'imū* 'Zayd is the one standing'; this pronoun has always been known as *ḡamīr al-faṣl* 'the pronoun of separation' (e.g. *Kitāb* I, 394), though an analysis in terms of the sentence predicate type in 9.76 would also be possible.

(3) For 'formal' *lafẓī* and 'abstract' *ma'nawī* see 2.1 n 2. The formal indication here is the adjective *ṣāliḥun*, which makes *rajulun* defined enough to function as subject (cf. 9.12 n 2). The segmentation *rajulun/ṣāliḥun ḥāḍirun* fails the test of 1.13.

(4) We have to accept the opinion of aṣ-Širbīnī's immediate source (al-Azharī, *Taṣr.* I, 173) on this matter, viz. that the statement 'Abū Yūsuf is Abū Ḥanīfa' cannot be a simple hyperbole (*mubālaḡa*) but must be understood as a genuine comparison (*taṣbīḥ ḥaqīqī*) in spite of the absence of the comparative particle *ka* 'like' (1.708). 'Thing compared' is *mušabbah* (here Abū Yūsuf), 'term of the comparison' is *mušabbah biḥ*, lit. 'thing with which compared' (Abū Ḥanīfa). On Abū Ḥanīfa, a prominent early jurist (d. 767) see *E.I.* (2), art. 'Abū Ḥanīfa', *G.A.S.* I, 409, and on his pupil Abū Yūsuf (d. 798) see *E.I.* (2), art. 'Abū Yūsuf', *G.A.S.* I, 419.

9.82 (1) See 9.24 n 2 on the difference between 'nominal' and 'verbal' sentences. In *qāma zaydun* 'Zayd stood' only an act is predicated of Zayd, while in the alternative construction *zaydun qāma* 'it was Zayd who stood' a sentence is predicated of Zayd. This latter may be analysed either as a complex predicate (as in 9.75) or as a kind of appositional construction, 'Zayd, he stood' (cf. 7.12, 9.75 end).

9.83 (1) See 7.7, 8.8 for agents with 'illā and 'innamā.

(2) S. 11 v 12. The word 'innamā, generally translated as 'only', is probably a compound of 'inna 'verily' (10.41) and the vague pronoun mā 'what' (Brockelmann, *Grundr.* II, 575, Reckendorf, *Arab. Synt.* 129). The effect of the mā suffix is to cancel the operation of 'inna (cf. 5.89 n 2 on the so-called 'redundant mā'), contrast 'inna zaydan qā'imun 'verily Zayd is standing' and 'innamā zaydun qā'imun 'Zayd is only standing' (scil. *verily what Zayd is, is standing'). Unlike the English 'only', 'innamā occurs mostly at the beginning of clauses (cf. Cantarino III, 202), and has the peculiarity that it restricts the next but one element as a rule (contrasting pairs are hard to find: one would like to do better than Reckendorf's 'innamā ja'ā 'anā 'only I came' and 'innamā ji'tu 'anā 'I only came'). Try further the study of 'innamā in the Qur'ān by Miquel, *G.L.E.C.S.* 9, 3.

(3) S. 3 v 144; cf. 21.35 on the syntax of exception here.

9.9 (1) See 3.73 n 2 on *ḥaḍf* 'elision', which it is tempting to render 'deletion' here. 'Optional' (*jawāzan*, cognate with *jā'iz*, q.v. 9.71 n 2) elision is always determined by the listener's ability to recover the missing forms (many examples in *Kitāb*, e.g. I, 129, 171); see 9.93 n 1 on compulsory elision.

9.91 (1) S. 41 v 46; *nafs* 'soul, self' is an unmarked fem. (cf. 11.43 n 3, 20.13 n 2), hence the fem. pronoun in *ʿalayhā* 'against himself'. One Qur'anic ellipse which has never been satisfactorily explained is S. 12 v 18, *ṣabrun jamīlun* 'fine patience': the commentators treat it either as the predicate of an elided subject, viz. '*amrī ṣabrun jamīlun* 'my duty is fine patience' or as the subject (sufficiently defined by the adjective, cf. 9.81) of an elided predicate, viz. *ṣabrun jamīlun 'ajmalu* 'fine patience is the finest thing' (cf. Wright II, 263).

9.92 (1) There may be some special pleading here: in order to show that the subject has been replaced by the verb phrase (see 13.6 n 3 on the emphatic *la* prefix and *anna* suffix) an undefined subject has to be posited to justify the inversion (9.73 n 1). What is even more curious is that this quasi-proverbial utterance is not analysed as a preposed space/time qualifier with verb, as the translation cannot imply-ing, or as a syntactically void oath (cf. 5.431 n 3).

9.93 (1) S. 13 v 35, referring to Paradise. Elision, as will have become clear, is not arbitrary: the grounds for optional (*jawāzan*) elision have already been stated (9.9 n 1), but those for compulsory elision (*wujūban*) are necessarily more varied, and often rest on usage alone (particularly with the proverbial expressions mentioned here), in spite of the structural explanations offered. The Qur'ān, being highly oratorical in nature, is a rich source of elisions, cf. *az-Zajjāḥī* (attrib.), *Iʿrāb al-Qur'ān*, ed. Abyārī, Cairo 1963-4, index s.v. *ḥaḍf*.

9.94 (1) Two cases of compulsory elision ought to be mentioned here: (a) the predicate of *lawlā* 'if it were not for...', q.v. 6.6 n 6, and (b) that part of an interrogative sentence about which information is being sought: this, of course, may be a subject (*man 'aḵūka* 'who is your brother?'), a predicate (*man huwa* 'who is he?'), an agent (*man qāma* 'who stood?'), or any of the various qualifiers, (*'ayna huwa* 'where is he?', *kayfa qāma* 'how did he stand?', *matā qāma* 'when did he stand?' etc.). Cf. 5.87 n 2.

(2) See ch. 25 on *wa* 'and' in the meaning of 'with'. It is doubtful whether there are any good structural reasons for this elision in spite of the argument presented here: it is simply a proverbial expression in which the elision of the predicate provides the necessary threatening vagueness. On 'structurally complete' (*tāmm*) cf. 9.71 n 2.

(3) This is the last phrase of a line of verse, q.v. *Schaw. Ind.* 273; note the dual verb *yaltaḡiyānī* (cf. 4.81 n 2(b)) as predicate of a nominal sentence (9.82). See 11.1 n 2 on the juncture feature in *imrī* 'in 'man' and 19.72 n 4 on the vowel harmony in this word.

9.95 (1) Not, of course, within the same clause!

(2) S. 51 v 25. The absence of def. art. on *salāmun* is noteworthy: is it a relic of a stage when *tanwīn* was not necessarily an indefiniteness marker (cf. 11.8 n 3)? Note also that *qawmun munkarūna* cannot be interpreted as a vocative (it would have to be (*yā*) *qawmu l-munkarūna* or *al-munkarīna*, 23.411, or *yā qawman munkarīna*, 23.51).

(3) Here we may add the equational sentence pattern '*ammā...fa...*', e.g. '*ammā zaydun fa-qā'imun* 'as for Zayd, he is standing', which serves to give prominence to the subject. Structurally it is very close to the complex predicate types in 9.75 (so: '*ammā zaydun fa-qāma 'abūhu* 'as for Zayd, his father stood') and 9.76 ('*ammā zaydun fa-jāriyatuhu qāhibatun* 'as for Zayd, his servant-girl is going'), and has been explained by Bravmann (op. cit. 7.63 n 1, 18f) as having developed out of a conditional structure, scil. *What about Zayd?—well, his father stood' (cf. 5.90 n 2(b) on *fa* in apodosis); cf. Beeston 65, Lewkowicz, op. cit. 9.76 n 1. Brogkelmann, *Grundr.* II, 575, gives the etymology of '*ammā* as 'an 'that' (5.41) and suffix *mā* 'what' (5.89 n 2), predating the distinction between subordinate and independent clauses.

10.0 (1) *Jum.* 53, 64; *Muf.* ##33, 440, 447; *Alf.* vv 143, 174, 206; *Qaṭr* 135; Beeston 64, 80; Fleisch 168, 181; Nöldeke 37, 40.

(2) 'At this stage' because, as will become clear, these three are only classes of 'cancellers' (see next note), each with its own members (and hence the rather diffuse entries in the bibliography above).

(3) 'Cancellers', as can be seen from aš-Širbīnī's ensuing comments (taken this time from *Qaṭr* 135 instead of al-Azharī) is a literal translation of *nawāsiḳ* (sing. *nāsiḳa* 'that which abolishes'), a term borrowed directly from the vocabulary of law, where it denotes a Qur'anic verse or Tradition of the Prophet (1.01 n 4) which revokes or repeals another. It appears late in grammar, perhaps no earlier than the time of Abū Ḥayyān (d. 1344, op. cit. 8.67 n 1, 90).

10.1 (1) Lit. 'her sisters', cf. 6.4 n 2. On *kāna* in particular see *Jum.* 53; *Muf.* ##447, 450; *Alf.* v 143; *Qaṭr* 135; Beeston 80; Fleisch 181; Nöldeke 37; F. Shehadi, 'Arabic and "to be"', in *The Verb 'be' and its Synonyms*, ed. J.W.M. Verhaar, Dordrecht 1969, 114; Levin, *Jerusalem Studies in Arabic and Islam* 1, 185.

(2) On transitivity see 16.309 n 1. Formally *kāna* has the same syntax as any verbal sentence, viz. Verb-Agent (indep.)-Qualifier (dep.), cf. the conspectus in ch. 15, but whether this is the result of Systemzwang

or an original structure cannot be demonstrated. A Western explanation (e.g. Fleisch 181) interprets the dep. element as a circumstantial qualifier (*ḥāl*, ch. 19), as if *kāna zaydun ʿĀliman* 'Zayd was learned' was really '*Zayd existed, as a learned man'. For Sībawayhi at least, *kāna* was as much a transitive verb as *ḍaraba* 'to strike' (v. Levin, op. cit. n 1, esp. 188), which seems to be confirmed by the fact that it occurs with object pronoun suffixes, e.g. *kānahu* 'he was it' (Nöldeke 37 and Spitaler's n 3). See further 10.21 n 2.

(3) The debate is set out in *Inṣāf*, Supp. prob. 2, though the immediate source for *aš-širbīnī* is undoubtedly al-Azhari, in a conflation of his *Taṣr.* I, 184 and *Āj.* 60.

(4) 'Linking elements' is *rawābiṭ*, plur. of *rābiṭa*, q.v. 5.86 n 3.

(5) Cf. *Jum.* 53 et seq. Abū l-Qāsim ʿAbd ar-Raḥmān ibn Ishāq az-Zajjājī, d. 949, studied in Baghdad under az-Zajjāj (v. 26.7 n 2), after whom he was named az-Zajjājī (cf. 11.721 n 4). His works range from elementary textbooks such as the *Jumal* to advanced theoretical treatises such as the *Idāḥ*; E.I.(1), art. 'az-Zadjdjādji', G.A.I. I, 110, Versteegh, index s.v. az-Zaḡḡāḡī.

10.101 (1) The limitation to thirteen is purely pedagogical: other verbs with the same syntax are, for example, *ʿāda*, *irtadda*, *rajaʿa*, all meaning 'to return' and used in this structure to mean 'to become again, revert', *inqalaba* 'to turn into', cf. Nöldeke 37; Wright II, 102; Cantarino III, 255.

For convenience we mention here the *ʿafʿāl al-muqāraba*, lit. 'verbs of being near', viz. *ʿasā* 'maybe', *kāda* 'almost to do', *ʿawšaka* 'to be on the point of'. Of these *ʿasā* occurs only as a past tense and is normally followed by an *ʿan*-clause (5.41), e.g. *ʿasā ʿan yaḍriba* 'maybe he will strike'; *ʿawšaka* is also followed by *ʿan*, e.g. *yūšiku ʿan yaḍriba* 'he almost strikes'. With *kāda* the second verb usually remains independent, e.g. *kāda yaḍribu* 'he almost struck', and note the negative *lā yakādu yaḍribu* 'he hardly strikes' ('*does not almost strike'). *Jum.* 209; *Muf.* #459; *Alf.* v 164; Fleisch 198.

(2) One use of these verbs seldom mentioned by grammarians is as auxiliaries, most particularly *kāna*. In principle the past and imperfect tenses of *kāna* may combine with those of other verbs to give four possible modalities: *kāna (qad) ḍaraba* 'he had struck', *kāna yaḍribu* 'he used to strike', *yakūnu (qad) ḍaraba* 'he will have struck' (see 1.81 on *qad*), and *yakūnu yaḍribu* 'he will be striking'; cf. Beeston 80, Yushmanov 54. Another type of auxiliary is *ʾaḡaḡa* 'to take', *jaʿala* 'to make' (cf. 10.69), *badaʿa* 'to begin', used to mean 'to start', e.g. *ʾaḡaḡa yaḍribu* 'he started striking'; Fleisch 113, 184; Yushmanov 55.

(3) See 10.23 n 3 on the 'verbal noun *mā*', *mā al-maṣḍariyya*.

(4) Because 'cases' (*masāʾil*, lit. 'legal questions') is fem. the text mostly treats the examples as fem. in the metalanguage, but sometimes gives them their natural masc. gender.

10.11 (1) Refs. as for 10.1 n 1, and see especially *Muf.* #450.

(2) S. 4 v 17. The translation 'was always' (alternative: 'has always been') avoids the obvious pitfall of implying that God is no longer knowing and wise! On this atemporal use of *kāna* see 5.52 n 2.

(3) 'Syntactically defective' (*nāqīṣ*, lit. 'lacking') because this *kāna* needs a predicate—another argument against treating the dep. forms after *kāna* as circumstantial qualifiers (10.1 n 2), since these are by definition redundant (19.1). A 'syntactically complete *kāna*' (*kāna t-tāmma*) is occasionally found, e.g. *tumma kāna 'abū bakrīn* 'then it was Abū Bakr' (lit. 'then Abū Bakr was'); further on *nāqīṣ* and *tāmm* see 9.71 n 2, 21.3 n 1.

(4) Note that *šābban* contains the over-long syllable CVC̄, on which see 21.22 n 4.

10.12 (1) *Muf.* #452; general refs. in 10.1 n 1. This is one of a group of verbs which denote the performance of an action or being in a state at a specific time of day or night. Others are in 10.13-16, to which may be added *rāḥa* 'to do/be in the evening', *ḡadā*, 'asfara' 'to do/be in the morning'. Those which have not become rare have simply lost their built-in time reference (*rāḥa*, for example, has become the universal verb for 'to go'), though 'amsā, to judge by the examples in Reckendorf *Synt. Verh.* 289, seems to have held on to the connotation of eventide better than some of its fellows (but note 'amsā *llāhu* 'ahlakahum 'God proceeded to destroy them'). In form 'amsā is a Stem IV (8.63 n 1) verb with weak 3rd rad. *y*: its imperfect tense active is *yumsī* (same endings as *yarmī*, 4.81 n 2(b)), and its past tense has the same endings as *ra'aytu*, 10.65 n 1.

10.13 (1) *Muf.* #452; general refs. in 10.1 n 1. This verb has become a virtual synonym of *šāra* 'to become' (q.v. 10.17), see Beeston 81 n 1. Note that, like all the verbs in this group, 'aṣbaḥa has developed into something very like an auxiliary verb, e.g. 'aṣbaḥa *yūqallibu kaffayhi* 'he began wringing his hands' (Wright II, 105). In form 'aṣbaḥa is a sound verb of Stem IV (8.63 n 1): in passing it is worth noting that Stem IV includes a non-productive set of verbs all connected with time or place (e.g. 'aymana 'to go to the Yemen', cf. Fleisch, *Tr.* #132e).

10.14 (1) *Muf.* #452; general refs. in 10.1 n 1. It is a Stem IV (8.63 n 1) verb with 3rd rad. *w* (⇒ *y* in augmented Stems, cf. next note).

(2) Paradigm of weak 3rd rad. verbs *daCā* (*d-C-w*), *laqiya* (*l-q-y*), past:

	sing.	dual	plur.	sing.	dual	plur.
1st	<i>daCawtu</i>		<i>daCawnā</i>	<i>laqītu</i>		<i>laqīnā</i>
2nd masc.	<i>daCawta</i>		<i>daCawtum</i>	<i>laqīta</i>		<i>laqītum</i>
2nd fem.	<i>daCawti</i>	<i>daCawtumā</i>	<i>daCawtunna</i>	<i>laqīti</i>	<i>laqītumā</i>	<i>laqītunna</i>
3rd masc.	<i>daCā</i>	<i>daCawā</i>	<i>daCaw</i>	<i>laqiya</i>	<i>laqiyā</i>	<i>laqū</i>
3rd fem.	<i>daCat</i>	<i>daCatā</i>	<i>daCawna</i>	<i>laqiyat</i>	<i>laqiyatā</i>	<i>laqīna</i>

Apart from a rare class *saruwa* (medial vowel *u*, *sarūtu* etc.) all 3rd. weak rad. verbs (including augmented Stems) conjugate as *daCā*, *laqiya* or *ra'ā* (q.v. 10.65 n 1), the ending being determined by the stem vowel (e.g. passive *duCīya* like *laqiya*, Stem IV 'aḏḥaytu like *ra'aytu* etc.). All augmented Stems show *w* ⇒ *y*, e.g. *istadCaytu*, Stem X of *daCā*.

10.15 (1) *Muf.* #453; general refs. in 10.1 n 1. In the spelling instructions (3.44 n 2), which are taken from al-Azharī, *Āj.* 60, the word for 'erect-tailed' is *mušāla*, and has been translated literally. It describes the shape of the letter *ṣ*, particularly the feature which distinguishes it from *ḍ* (cf. Wright I, 6): at a very early period the sounds (and consequently the spelling) of *ṣ* and *ḍ* had become hopelessly confused, and provided the grammarians with opportunities for patronizing anecdotes (cf. Fück, op. cit. 1.21 n 2, 58; on the phonology of *ṣ* and *ḍ* see Magee, *Word* 6, 75).

(2) In his Commentary on *Kāfiya* (Istanbul 1858), II, 274, al-Astarābādī asserts that *ṣalla* may also mean 'to become', and cites S. 16 v 58 in support: *ṣalla wajhuhu muswaddan* 'his face became black'. In form *ṣalla* is a 'doubled verb', q.v. 10.61 n 1.

10.16 (1) *Muf.* #453; general refs. in 10.1 n 1. In form *bāta* is a 'hollow verb' (*fiʿl* 'ajwaf', i.e. a verb whose middle radical is a semi-vowel (w or y); this leads to certain reductions and variations in the stem (see paradigms in 10.23 n 2: *bāta* follows *sāra*, having y as its middle radical). Even here it is worth remarking that, although fully developed in Classical Arabic as triliterals, there is a distinct probability that the 'hollow verb' represents an extension of original biliteral roots under Systemzwang (cf. Fleisch 111, 239 n 3).

10.17 (1) *Muf.* #451; general refs. in 10.1 n 1. In form *šāra* is a 'hollow verb' with middle radical y, see paradigms in 10.23 n 2. Another example is *širtu 'aḥsaba* 'I became tawny', end of 10.62. In its Stem II (8.61 n 1) form *šayyara* this verb means 'to cause something to become something else', and is thus doubly transitive, v. 10.69 n 3.

(2) The verb *šāra* (root ṣ-y-r) has nothing to do with the noun *šūra* 'form' (q.v. 11.712 n 2), which has itself engendered a new hollow root ṣ-w-r in the denominative verb *šawwara* 'to give form' (but only singly transitive, contrast *šayyara* above). See Jeffries, op. cit. 3.412 n 3, 201, on the likely foreign origins of the word *šūra*.

10.18 (1) *Muf.* #456; Beeston 100; other refs. in 10.1 n 1. This verb is anomalous in several ways: (a) it is a rare example of a compound word, consisting of *lā* 'not' (ch. 22) and a nominal element 'aysa 'existence' (so Brockelmann, *Grundr.* II, 111, but Yushmanov 57 sees the second element as verbal); (b) its conjugation is both incomplete and irregular (see n 3); (c) it has past tense form but present tense meaning (see n 2); (d) it makes its predicate dependent (but see n 4).

(2) That is, *laysa* negates 'being' absolutely and in the present tense unless modified by context (cf. 11.7 n 1 on *garīna* 'contextual indication', but here meaning that there is no accompanying negative particle as required by other verbs, cf. 10.22). An example of the future meaning determined by context is S. 11 v 8: 'a-lā *yawma ya'tīhim laysa maṣrūfan* *Canhum* 'and will it (i.e. punishment), on the day it comes to them, not be turned aside from them?'. Note the vowel harmony in the suffix *hum* (*ya'tīhim/Canhum*), q.v. 13.9 n 9, and the rhetorical negative 'a-lā, q.v. 5.55 n 6.

(3) The paradigm of *laysa* is as follows:

	sing.	dual	plur.
1st	<i>lastu</i>		<i>lasnā</i>
2nd masc.	<i>lasta</i>		<i>lastum</i>
2nd fem.	<i>lasti</i>	<i>lastumā</i>	<i>lastunna</i>
3rd masc.	<i>laysa</i>	<i>laysā</i>	<i>laysū</i>
3rd fem.	<i>laysat</i>	<i>laysatā</i>	<i>lasna</i>

There is no imperfect tense and no passive (but see 10.3 n 2).

(4) An alternative to the dep. form is *bi* 'with' (1.707) and obl. form, e.g. *laysa bi-nā'imīn*, and in both cases *laysa* can be replaced by the so-called 'Ḥijāzī mā' (5.84 n 3), e.g. *mā Camrun nā'imān/bi-nā'imīn*. The *bi* is obscure: Reckendorf, *Synt. Verh.* 241, suggests a rhetorical question, scil. 'what has ^CAmr to do with a sleeper!?' (cf. 5.82 n 1), but note other equally perplexing functions of *bi* (after 'idā of surprise', 5.432 n 2, before logical agents, 7.11 and logical subjects, 9.03). Possible Hamitic connections: Clerc, *G.L.E.C.S.* 4, 24.

(5) Negative equivalents are: prohibition (*nahy*, 5.76), e.g. *lā tazal qākira l-mawti* 'do not cease thinking of death', and invocation (*du^Cā*', 5.55 n 3), e.g. *lā zāla munhillan...il-qaṭru* 'may the rain not cease pouring' (*Muf.* #454; *Qaṭr* 137; see 14.34 n 3 on optative).

10.19 (1) *Muf.* #454; general refs. in 10.1 n 1, and cf. 10.18 n 5. In form *zāla* is a 'hollow verb' (10.23 n 2) which belongs to the small group which retain the a vowel throughout the imperfect tense. In modern Arabic it regularly translates the notion of 'still', e.g. *lā yazālu nā'imān* 'he is still asleep'. Like all the verbs in this section, *zāla* (always negative) combines with imperfect tense verbs in an auxiliary function, e.g. *mā ziltu 'aktumuhu* 'I have still kept it secret' (example from Cantarino III, 259, where wrongly *zultu* for *ziltu*).

10.20 (1) *Muf.* #454; general refs. in 10.1 n 1. In form *infakka* is a 'doubled verb' (10.61 n 1), of Stem VII (8.66 n 1): in juncture it therefore takes the vowel of the previous word (**mā infakka > mā ʔnfakka*) cf. 13.12 n 1. The resulting over-long syllable *mā-n* (= CVCC, 2.5 n 3) is pronounced short, cf. 21.22 n 4.

10.21 (1) *Muf.* #454; general refs. in 10.1 n 1. In form *fatī'a* is a Stem I verb with medial vowel *i* (cf. 10.22 n 2).

(2) Further to the syntax of *kāna* and related verbs: it is possible that the structure *kāna*—Subject—Predicate is the result of conflating three structures. Consider the following: (a) in all but two of the given examples the dep. elements are undefined participles or adjectives (virtually the same thing, 11.45). The participles would in other contexts be taken for circumstantial qualifiers (19.1), denoting transient qualities, but not so the adjectives, which should denote inherent qualities; (b) predicates of all kinds are most commonly undefined (cf. 9.12 n 2), which is why *Muf.* #449 asserts that *kāna*-predicates must be undefined *ḥaddu l-kalāmi* 'this being the strict pattern of speech'; and (c) circumstantial qualifiers are themselves predicates of their antecedents (19.7), predicating transient qualities of them in the context

of an action. Three structures are thus available: Verb—Agent—Qualifier (dep.), Subject (def.)—Predicate (undef.), and Verb—Agent (def.)—Transient Predicate (= circumstantial qualifier, undef. and dep.). None of these fits *kāna* exactly (especially the type *kāna š-šayku šābban* 'the old man was once a youth' in 10.11), which leaves us with conflation as a possible explanation for its assimilation to the verbal structure Verb—Agent—Qualifier.

10.22 (1) *Muf.* #454; general refs. in 10.1 n 1. These verbs do appear (though rarely) in the positive, i.e. as 'syntactically complete verbs' (*tāmm*, cf. 7.01 n 2), e.g. *bariḥa l-makāna* 'he left the place', *zāla ḡ-ḡillu* 'the shade ceased' etc. In S. 12 v 85, however, the positive *ta-llāhi tafta'u taḡkuru yūsufa* 'by God you will (not) cease mentioning Joseph' is unanimously explained by commentators as assuming an elided *mā* 'not'.

(2) Stem I verbs exhibit a variation in the medial vowel of both past and imperfect tense, broadly along the following lines:
kataba/yaktubu (a, u) 'write', transitive action,
mariḍa/yamraḍu (i, a) 'be ill', intransitive, temporary state,
ḥasuna/yaḥsunu (u, u) 'be good', intransitive, permanent state.
 However, there are numerous exceptions, some of phonological origin, see further Fleisch 115; Bateson 30; Yushmanov 49.

10.23 (1) *Muf.* #455; general refs. in 10.1 n 1. Translation in the conventional form of an infinitive (3.52 n 3) is impossible in this case.

(2) Here the paradigm of the two commonest types of 'hollow verb' (*fi*^{C1} 'ajwaf), (a) *qāma* 'to stand' (q-w-m), (b) *sāra* 'to travel' (s-y-r), past tense, active:

	sing.	dual	plur.	sing.	dual	plur.
1st	<i>qumtu</i>		<i>qumnā</i>	<i>sirtu</i>		<i>sirnā</i>
2nd masc.	<i>qumta</i>		<i>qumtum</i>	<i>sirta</i>		<i>sirtum</i>
2nd fem.	<i>qumti</i>	<i>qumtumā</i>	<i>qumtunna</i>	<i>sirti</i>	<i>sirtumā</i>	<i>sirtunna</i>
3rd masc.	<i>qāma</i>	<i>qāmā</i>	<i>qāmū</i>	<i>sāra</i>	<i>sārā</i>	<i>sārū</i>
3rd fem.	<i>qāmat</i>	<i>qāmatā</i>	<i>qumna</i>	<i>sārat</i>	<i>sāratā</i>	<i>sirna</i>

Passives of all hollow verbs follow the pattern of *zirtu* 'I was visited', *zīra* 'he was visited' etc. (cf. 8.2 n 5) and are thus identical with active *sāra* type except for 3rd person sing., dual and masc. plur. Imperfect tense, active, independent form:

	sing.	dual	plur.	sing.	dual	plur.
1st	<i>'aqūmu</i>		<i>naqūmu</i>	<i>'asīru</i>		<i>nasīru</i>
2nd masc.	<i>taqūmu</i>		<i>taqūmūna</i>	<i>tasīru</i>		<i>tasīrūna</i>
2nd fem.	<i>taqūmīna</i>	<i>taqūmāni</i>	<i>taqumna</i>	<i>tasīrīna</i>	<i>tasīrāni</i>	<i>tasirna</i>
3rd masc.	<i>yaqūmu</i>	<i>yaqūmāni</i>	<i>yaqūmūna</i>	<i>yasīru</i>	<i>yasīrāni</i>	<i>yasīrūna</i>
3rd fem.	<i>taqūmu</i>	<i>taqūmāni</i>	<i>yaqumna</i>	<i>tasīru</i>	<i>tasīrāni</i>	<i>yasirna</i>

Passives of all hollow verbs follow the pattern of *uzāru* 'I am visited', *yuzāru* 'he is visited', *yuzarna* 'they (fem.) are visited' etc. The dep. forms have same endings as sound verb (4.82 n 1), e.g. *'aqūma* etc. Apoc. forms likewise have same endings as sound verb (4.82 n 2), but stem vowel shortens before zero ending, thus *yaqum*, not **yaqūm*. Indeed

hollow verbs may be summed up as follows: stem vowel long when 3rd rad. is vowelised (*qāma*, *yaqūmu*), short when 3rd rad. is unvowelised (*qumna*, *yaqumna*, *yaqum*). This is true also for augmented Stems, 8.73 n 1. A few verbs, e.g. *zāla* 'to cease', *nāma* 'to sleep' etc., have imperfect tense stem vowel *a/ā* (under the above rule, e.g. *yazālu*, *yazalna*), and are otherwise mostly like *sāra* in past and passive. Imperative of hollow verbs, 10.33 n 1.

(3) Like the similarly named 'an 'that' (5.41) this *mā* 'fuses' (*sabaka* = 'to cast metal') with its verb to form a noun phrase, as is neatly demonstrated by the eventual substitution of the *mā* phrase by the noun phrase *muddata dawāmi*... 'for the period of the duration of...'. As nominalizers, both *mā* and 'an enable prepositions to operate on sentences, cf. 5.41 n 8', 18.207 n 1.

10.3 (1) 'Conjugated forms' renders *mā taṣarrafa minhā*, lit. 'what is currently in circulation of them', i.e. the range of permissible verbal forms as illustrated. The cognate term *taṣrīf* can be understood as meaning 'the derivation of nouns and verbs from a given root', q.v. 17.1 n 1.

(2) The list presents an ever diminishing range of forms culminating in *laysa*, whose entire conjugation is set out in 10.18 n 3 (though at least one grammarian ventured to postulate a passive **līsa*, presumably meaning 'it is not being been', v. Ibn ʿUṣfūr, *al-Muḡarrib*, ed. Baghdad 1971, I, 79). There is also a suggestion that *kāna*, too, has a passive (e.g. al-Uṣmūnī on *Alf.* v 253, and cf. 10.36 n 1). Of the other verbs categorized here, *zāla* and family, and *dāma*, are more productive than *aš-širbīnī* implies, but only in their positive forms: but these cannot be negated and used as 'cancellers' with the same freedom as all parts of the verb *kāna* as illustrated in the ensuing paragraphs.

10.31 (1) An important principle is invoked here, namely that all de-verbative elements (q.v. 10.34 n 1) operate like their underlying verbs (16.312 n 1). This is clear in the case of the verbal, agent and patient nouns, whose verbal content is still obvious, but needs perhaps to be pointed out in the case of the adjective, e.g. *ḥasanun* 'handsome', equivalent to the verb phrase *yaḥsunu* 'he is handsome' (see 11.45 and 26.92 n 5).

(2) See 10.11. Note in passing that the 'subject-noun' and 'predicate' of *kāna* are required to fulfil the conditions for the equational sentence (ch. 9), principally that the subject(-noun) should be defined: by the same token an undefined subject is permissible under categorical negation (cf. ch. 22), e.g. *mā kāna 'aḥadun miṭlaka* 'no-one was like you' (lit. 'someone was not like you', see 22.6 n 1), *Kitāb* I, 26.

(3) See 10.18.

10.32 (1) A present tense function for *yakūnu* is more or less ruled out by the existence of the 'timeless' equational sentence structure (ch. 9) which has no copula. On the other hand the imperfect tense often has future meaning (5.01 n 1), which the translation here reproduces.

10.33 (1) S. 17 v 50. The imperatives of the 'hollow verbs' (10.23 n 2) are internally regular, i.e. they follow the same rules as the sound verb (7.82) with the stem variations peculiar to the hollow verb: sing. masc. *kun*, fem. *kūnī*, dual *kūnā*, plur. masc. *kūnū*, fem. *kunna* (middle rad. *y* gives *sir*, *sīrī* etc.). Stem I fem. plur. imperative is coincidentally the same as 3rd fem. plur. past tense *kunna*, *sirna*. Imperative of augmented Stems, 10.38 n 1.

(2) Here perhaps is an occasion when it is proper to speak of the 'subject' rather than the agent of the verb (cf. 7.5 n 1): in *kūnū* there is an overt bound pronoun suffix *ū* 'you' (7.82) which is formally indistinguishable from the agent pronoun, except that it pronominalizes the subject of an equational sentence (taking 'you are stones' as the underlying form of the imperative 'be stones!').

10.34 (1) Every regular verb has three nominal derivatives: *maṣḍar* 'verbal noun' (but see 17.1 n 2), *ism al-fāʿil* 'name of the doer', i.e. agent noun (the formal category, contrast functional cat. in ch. 7), and *ism al-mafʿūl* 'name of the done', i.e. patient noun (formal, contrast functional cat. in ch. 16). Agent and patient nouns are predictable for all Stems, but see 17.52 n 1 on verbal noun forms, Stems I, II and III. The forms are as follows (cf. 8.51 n 1):

Stem:	I	II	III	IV	V	VI
Active	<i>fāʿil</i>	<i>mufaʿʿil</i>	<i>mufaʿʿil</i>	<i>mufʿil</i>	<i>mutafaʿʿil</i>	<i>mutafāʿil</i>
Passive	<i>mafʿūl</i>	<i>mufaʿʿal</i>	<i>mufaʿʿal</i>	<i>mufʿal</i>	<i>mutafaʿʿal</i>	<i>mutafāʿal</i>
Vb. noun	varies	<i>tafʿil</i>	<i>fiʿāl</i>	<i>ʿifʿāl</i>	<i>tafaʿʿul</i>	<i>tafāʿul</i>

Stem:	VII	VIII	IX	X
Active	<i>munfaʿil</i>	<i>muftaʿil</i>	<i>mufʿill</i>	<i>mustafʿil</i>
Passive	none	<i>muftaʿal</i>	none	<i>mustafʿal</i>
Vb. noun	<i>infiʿāl</i>	<i>iftiʿāl</i>	<i>ifʿilāl</i>	<i>istifʿāl</i>

Doubled verbs are regular except for Stems I and VI agent nouns, e.g. *šābb*, showing the over-long syllable CVC̄ (see 21.22 n 4); weak 1st rad. verbs are regular, so are hollow verbs, except Stem I, q.v. 10.35 n 1. Weak 3rd rad. verbs have regular patient noun in Stem I (*mafʿuww* or *mafʿiyy*) and all other nouns end in *ī/in* and follow *qāḍī* or *ā/an* and follow *fatā* (both 4.2 n 2), all with sound plurals (4.6 n 1). Syntax 7.11, 16.312 n 1, 17.2, 24.31; Beeston 35; Yushmanov 53.

10.35 (1) Hollow verbs acquire by Systemzwang a dummy radical ' in the Stem I agent noun, see further *sāʿir* 'travelling', 25.11 n 1. The inversion in the present example stresses that *kāʿin* cannot be used in independent equational sentences, e.g. **zayḍun kāʿinun qāʿiman* '*Zayd is being standing', though this is normal with other verbs, e.g. *zayḍun qāribun ʿamran* 'Zayd is striking ʿAmr'.

10.36 (1) Hollow verbs with *y* are regular (*madyūn*, from *dāna* 'to owe'), but *wū* reduces to *ū* (**makwūn* > *makūn*). Evidently *makūn* is a perverse passivization of *kāna zayḍun qāʿiman* with *qāʿiman* becoming the agent implicit in *makūnun*! But note that *Sībawayhi* does refer to space/time qualifiers as *makūnun fihi* 'been in it', i.e. 'in which being is done' (*Kitāb* I, 201, and see Troupeau, *G.L.E.C.S.* 9, 45).

10.37 (1) The paradigms in 4.4 n 5 (etc.) and 8.61-72 (notes) give an impression of the range of verbal patterns in which a single trilateral root (5.1 n 2) can be expressed. The same applies to nouns and adjectives, which are likewise root consonants embedded in patterns corresponding to their semantic function and grammatical category, e.g. agent, patient and verbal noun (10.34 n 1), plural (3.221), diminutive (3.421 n 1), distributive (3.89 n 9), noun of place (18.5 n 1), noun of instrument (17.63 n 1), and see Wright I, 109, Fleisch, index, s.v. *nom* for a more complete list. This almost algebraic correlation between form and meaning is a Proto-Semitic feature which has been (and still is being) exploited more by Arabic than any other Semitic language: see Beeston 31; Fleisch 31, 226; Bateson 1; Yushmanov 34. On quadrilateral nouns see 3.89 n 1, verbs 5.31 n 2; delocutive verbs 1.0 n 1; words outside the derivational system 26.26 n 1.

10.38 (1) With the exception of Stem IV, most imperative verbs are simply the relevant apocopated form minus the personal prefix (v. 5.2). Thus with weak 1st rad. the imperative of Stem I is *jid*, from apoc. *tajid*, root *w-j-d* (paradigm 10.67 n 1); hollow verbs are described in 10.33 n 1; weak 3rd rad. verbs are regular, e.g. *irmi*, from apoc. *tarmi* minus the prefix, with the resulting consonant cluster resolved as in 5.2 n 3. Stem IV verbs are unusual in that their imperative always begins with 'a: the rule of thumb for these verbs is, then, to replace the *tu* prefix of the apocopated form with 'a, thus 'aṣbiḥ from *tuṣbiḥ*, 'awjid from *tūjid* (= *tuwjid*, 2.43 n 2), 'ajri from *tujri* (root *j-r-y*) etc. In this way Stem IV is distinguished from Stem I (*iṣbaḥ*, *jid* and *ijri* respectively). Other augmented Stems are completely regular, e.g. Stem II ḥassin from *tuḥassin*, Stem VII inkasir from *tankasir*, with resolution of initial consonant cluster (**nkasir*) as in 5.2 n 3.

10.4 (1) *Jum.* 64; *Muf.* ##33, 516; *Alf.* v 174; *Qaṭr* 152 (cf. *Muḡnī* I, 35); Beeston 64; Fleisch 168, 198; Nöldeke 40. 'Related particles' is lit. 'her sisters', cf. 6.4 n 2.

(2) The 'correct' view in this instance is that of the 'Baṣrans' (q.v. 9.4 n 3), while in the following paragraph the 'Kūfan' explanation is presented. The matter is argued at length in *Inṣāf* prob. 22, the Baṣran case being founded on the formal and functional similarities between 'inna and the verb (summarized in the second sentence of 10.401).

10.401 (1) Cf. the debate alluded to in 9.11, the 'Kūfan' view being that subject and predicate are made independent by each other.

(2) This is a good specimen of the analogical reasoning which typifies the theoretical linguistics of the so-called 'Baṣran' grammarians (cf. *qiyās*, 8.3 n 2). Western interpretations of 'inna agree with the Arabs at least to the extent of acknowledging that it has some verbal ingredient, and point out the similarity to the Hebrew *hinne* 'lo!' (Beeston 64; Fleisch 168; Yushmanov 62). Structural confirmation of its verbal quality may come from the fact that 'inna etc. occur with the direct object suffix *nī* (16.301), e.g. in 21.61, and cf. 10.55 n 3.

(3) See 5.1.

10.41 (1) *Muf.* #517; *Qaṭr* 153, 162; other refs. 10.4 n 1. The spelling instruction (3.44 n 2) ensures that 'inna will not be confused with 'anna (10.42). For the allomorph 'in see 12.903 n 1; for la prefixed to the predicate after 'inna see 13.6 n 4.

(2) 'Particle of emphasis and dependence' translates *ḥarf tawkīd wa-naṣb*: on *ḥarf* 'particle' see 1.25, on *tawkīd* 'emphasis' cf. 13.0 n 1 and on *naṣb* 'dependence' see 3.5 n 1; note the functional definition of this element (cf. 1.92 n 1). Pellat (*G.L.E.C.S.* 9, 18) observes that 'inna etc. serve as 'anticipatory particles', with the same structure as relative clauses (11.753 n 3, and cf. Lewkowicz, op. cit. 9.76 n 1). The similarity lies in the fact that any overt noun may be taken out of the sentence and made dependent by 'inna, with the blank space now filled by the appropriate pronoun: compare 'inna *zaydan yaktubu l-kitāba* 'verily Zayd writes the letter' (referential pronoun already in *yaktubu*, v. 7.8), and 'inna *l-kitāba yaktubuhu zaydun* 'verily the letter, writing it is Zayd' (place of *al-kitāba* now filled by *hu* 'it').

10.42 (1) *Muf.* #517; *Qaṭr* 153; *Fleisch* 198; other refs. 10.4 n 1. Like 'an (5.41), 'anna is a nominalizer pure and simple: they differ from each other only in distribution, for while 'anna is followed only by nouns and pronouns, 'an is normally followed only by verbs (contrast 'an *taḡṣa'ca qulūbuhum* 'that their hearts should be humble', 5.41, with a paraphrase 'anna *qulūbahum taḡṣa'cu*, and see further Fischer, *Z.A.L.* 1, 24). Commonly with 'inna, 'anna etc. an empty pronoun *hu* 'it' is suffixed when it is wished to retain the original verbal sentence word order, e.g. 'annahu *kāna zaydun qā'iman* 'that Zayd was standing'. This pronoun is termed *ḍamīr aṣ-ṣa'n* 'the pronoun of the matter', v. *Muf.* #167; Beeston 49; Yushmanov 73.

(2) See 16.301. Note the substitution technique in the analysis to follow, showing how 'anna clauses are equivalent to single words.

(3) i.e. 'anna clauses are always subordinate, see 10.421.

10.421 (1) *Jum.* 69; *Muf.* #517; *Alf.* v 177. While it might be enough to say that 'inna clauses are autonomous sentences while 'anna clauses are not, the Arab explanation (which comes to the same thing) uses the substitution principle (cf. Carter, *J.A.O.S.* 93, 154) to demonstrate that 'anna clauses cannot fill one of the requirements of a complete utterance, viz. to be composite (1.12). In theory 'inna can only introduce direct speech (more accurately, can only be part of an actual utterance, cf. 10.64 n 1), which is why 'inna clauses must fulfil every one of the criteria of the complete utterance (1.11-14), and why 'anna clauses cannot.

10.43 (1) *Muf.* #528; *Qaṭr* 157 (cf. *Muḡnī* I, 224). The etymology of *lākinna* is given as **lā ka'anna*, a kind of negative of *ka'anna* (10.44) meaning 'not thus', though the assumed contraction of *ka'anna* to *kinna* is not explained (Brockelmann, *Grundr.* II, 480). The spelling instruction (3.44 n 2) is to avoid confusion with *lākin*, q.v. 12.9.

(2) Note the functional definition, *ḥarf istidrāk* 'particle of amendment', by which the amorphous element acquires an identity in terms of a linguistic action (cf. 1.92 n 1); see 10.52 for the definition of 'amending'.

(3) Through an apparent oversight both manuscripts have *qā'idun* 'sitting' here (repeated from the first example, above), which has been changed to *qā'imun* 'standing' on the grounds that the contradiction of a negated term is its positive. *Muf.* #528 has a more coherent set of examples.

10.44 (1) *Muf.* #531; *Qaṭr* 153 (cf. *Muḡnī* I, 162). The spelling instruction (3.44 n 2) is to avoid confusion with the 'lightened' allomorph *ka'an*, cf. 12.903 n 1, which does not operate upon the following noun; see *Muf.* #532; *Qaṭr* 160; *Fleisch* 205.

(2) The example is presented here as an autonomous statement, which raises doubts about the etymology of *ka'anna*: precisely because it does occur in apparently independent utterances, it is explained in *Muf.* #531 as a compound of the comparative *ka* 'like' (1.708) and the particle *'inna* 'verily' (10.41). However, since *ka'anna* is found also with subordinate clauses, it is more consistent to treat it as a compound of *ka* and *'anna* 'that' (10.42), and to assume that the main clause has been elided whenever a *ka'anna* sentence appears in isolation (so Reckendorf, *Arab. Synt.* 539).

(3) In some works (e.g. *Muf.* #531), the example is cited with *al-'asadu* instead of *'asadun*, i.e. with the 'generic article' (11.741); observe that in 1.708 the example likewise has the generic article.

10.45 (1) *Muf.* #535; *Qaṭr* 48 (cf. *Muḡnī* I, 221) *Fleisch* 192. The word at least has a genuine verbal content to account for its operation upon dependent nouns: it is a reduced form of the optative verb (14.34 n 3) *ra'ayta* 'may you see', with regular loss of intervocalic *'* and an apparently unique sound change of initial *r* to *l* (not noted by Cantineau, *Études* 49, who asserts to the contrary that Classical Arabic *r* has to all intents and purposes ('pour ainsi dire') undergone no changes). Paradoxically the colloquial equivalent *yā rēt* 'if only it were so' preserves the original *r*.

(2) This includes pronouns, of course, thus *laytahu* 'would that he', etc. In the first person singular the suffix is accordingly the verbal (direct object) suffix *nī*, q.v. 16.301, and see 5.55(g) for an example; Nöldeke 41, however, records a few instances of *laytī*, with the nominal suffix *ī*, q.v. 4.72 n 2.

10.46 (1) *Muf.* #535; *Qaṭr* 48 (cf. *Muḡnī* I, 222); Nöldeke 40. There seems to be no reason to doubt Nöldeke's assertion (40 n 2) that *la'allā* has always been a verb, namely *callā* (perhaps connected with the idea of repetition: this verb exists independently in the meaning 'to give a second drink'), prefixed with the emphasizing *la* (13.6 n 3). For the 'Baṣrans' and 'Kūfans' (9.4 n 3) it was a question of whether *la'allā* was simple or compound: the Baṣrans inclined to the view that

it was compound, and cited verses in which *Calla* appears alone. The Kūfans fulfilled their dialectical role by rejecting this on the grounds that 'particles' consist entirely of root letters and cannot form derivatives by augmentation; cases of *Calla* alone they dismiss as elisions (see *Inṣāf*, prob. 26). Note, too, the anomalous occurrence of *la^Calla* as a pure preposition, 26.1 (2). See further 10.55 n 3.

10.50(1) In passing it should be noted that the operation of these particles is voided in two ways: (a) by suffixing *mā* (nominally the same as Lat. *quod*, but see further 9.83 n 2), and (b) by 'lightening' i.e. reducing the final double *nn*, e.g. '*inna*' > '*in*', see further 12.903 n 1. 'Lightening' is *taḵfīf*, lit. translated, a morphophonological term (cf. 'phonetic inconvenience' in 2.31 n 4).

10.51 (1) Note the compound conjunctions *li-'anna* 'because', *ma^Ca 'anna* 'although' etc. (cf. Fleisch 203f). On 'senses' *ma^Cānī* in this context see 1.701 n 2: there is no possibility that lexical meaning is intended here, and the particles can only be described in terms of the kind of 'speech act' they involve (cf. 1.92 n 1).

10.52 (1) See 10.43 on *lākinna*.

10.53 (1) See 10.44. This definition of comparison (*taṣbīḥ*, lit. 'deeming similar') is not grammatical, but is taken over from rhetoric, where *ma^Cnā* 'meaning' is more narrowly semantic in connotation, and could well be translated 'idea' (see Versteegh 187 and al-Jurjānī, *Die Geheimnisse der Wortkunst*, tr. H. Ritter, Wiesbaden 1959, 43f, 104f).

10.54 (1) See 10.45. 'Express a wish' renders *tamannī*, lit. 'action of wishing' (verbal noun, Stem V, of the root *m-n-w*, cf. 10.34 n 1). It is discussed by aṣ-Širbīnī in his *Qur'ān Commentary I*, 74, on S. 2 v 95, where he concludes that 'hoping' is not a genuine 'mental operation' (*min 'a^Cmāli l-qulūbi*) of the same nature as that of the true 'mental verbs' in 10.6, but is only a verbal formality (*kalimatu tamannin* 'a word of hoping'), because it is absurd (*muḥāl* 'self-contradictory') to aspire to something that exists only in the mind.

(2) The subordinate verb '*aḥujja* 'that I may make the pilgrimage' is explained in 5.54, and in 5.55 (g) there is another example of *layta*.

10.55 (1) See 10.46. 'Express a hope' translates *tarajjī*, lit. 'action of hoping' (verbal noun, Stem V, of the root *r-j-w*, cf. 10.34 n 1), though it is a little broader than the English implies, as it embraces the anticipation of both good and bad.

(2) 'Expectation' is a literal translation of *tawaqqu^C* (verbal noun, Stem V, of the root *w-q-C*, cf. 10.34 n 1).

(3) Note that the form *la^Callanī*, with direct object suffix (10.46 n 1) is commonly replaced by *la^Callī*: this is probably not the possessive suffix *ī*, but the result of an analogical extension based on '*annī*', where the *ī* suffix arises from reduction of '*annanī*' (Reckendorf, *Ar. Synt.* 131 n 1), and cf. '*innā* for '*innanā* in 10.67, 12.41.

10.6 (1) *Jum.* 41; *Muf.* #440; *Alf.* v 206; *Qaṭr* 171; Beeston 93, 96;

Fleisch 183. These are the 'af^Cāl al-qulūb, lit. 'the verbs of the heart', see 24.25 n 1 and cf. 10.71. Western analysis makes the 'predicate' after these verbs a kind of circumstantial qualifier, but with reservations (see Beeston 96, and compare 10.21 n 2).

(2) Lit. 'after their agent has done all that is required of it', a commercial term based on the verb *wafā* 'to pay up, keep one's word', and here meaning that there must be a complete Verb-Agent sentence before the proposition which forms the double object of these verbs.

(3) Printed eds. have 'as a pair of direct objects' here as part of Ibn Ājurrūm's original text.

(4) To these may be added synonyms, cf. 10.62 n 1, 10.63 n 1, 10.66 n 1.

(5) Or rather, of the predicate which functions as a second direct obj.

10.61 (i) Refs. as in 10.6 n 1. Note that here the verbs are quoted in their 1st sing. past form instead of the conventional 3rd sing. masc. (3.52 n 3): this may be in order to emphasize that these verbs already have their agents (10.6 n 2), contrasting with the *kāna* group (10.1). The verb *ḡanna* is a 'doubled verb' (*fi^Cl muḡā^Caf*), i.e. its 2nd and 3rd radicals are identical. The past tense, active paradigm is:

	sing.	dual	plur.
1st	<i>ḡanantu</i>		<i>ḡanannā</i>
2nd masc.	<i>ḡananta</i>	<i>ḡanantumā</i>	<i>ḡanantum</i>
fem.	<i>ḡananti</i>		<i>ḡanantunna</i>
3rd masc.	<i>ḡanna</i>	<i>ḡannā</i>	<i>ḡannū</i>
fem.	<i>ḡannat</i>	<i>ḡannatā</i>	<i>ḡananna</i>

Passive *ḡunintu*, *ḡunna* etc. See further 11.3 n 1 for remaining forms.

(2) For no apparent reason the noun *ḡann* 'thinking' is used here instead of quoting the verb conventionally in the 3rd sing. masc.

(3) S. 84 v 14; see 10.41 on '*innaḡu*', 5.42 on *lan* with dep. verb.

(4) S. 9 v 118; see 22.12 on *lā* with dep. noun, ch. 21 on '*illā*'.

(5) Thus *ḡanantuhu* with only one direct object would mean 'I suspected him', though it is probably more likely to be understood as 'I thought so'. On these verbs with '*an*' clauses (5.41) see Fleisch 199.

10.62 (1) Refs. as in 10.6 n 1. To this section we might also add the verb *ḡadda* 'to reckon, count', e.g. *ḡadadtuhu ḡadiḡan lī* 'I counted him a friend of mine' (*ḡadda* is a doubled verb, q.v. 10.61 n 1). On the medial vowel *i* of *ḡasiba* cf. 10.22 n 2.

(2) S. 58 v 18; see 10.42 on '*annahum*'. The phrase *ḡalā ḡay'in* seems to correspond literally to the English idiom.

(3) First hemistich of a verse ending *ribāḡan 'iḡā mā l-mar'u 'aḡbaḡa tḡāḡilan* 'as a profit whenever a man became burdened' (*Schaw. Ind.* 210); on *ḡayra* see 5.82 n 5, '*iḡā*' 5.94, redundant *mā* 5.85 n 1, '*aḡbaḡa*' 10.13.

(4) Note dep. form after *ḡirtu* (10.17); on the adjectival pattern '*af^Cal*' cf. 3.89 (10).

10.63 (1) Refs. as in 10.6 n 1. Add here the synonym *tawahhama* 'to suppose, fancy' and the idiomatic *hab* 'grant, suppose', imperative of weak 1st rad. *wahaba* 'to bestow' (cf. 10.38 n 1). On the form of *kāla*/*kiltu* see below, n 4.

(2) Second half of a verse beginning *ḍaʿifu n-nikāyati ʿaḍāʾahu* 'weak in the spiting of his enemies', *Schaw. Ind.* 173. As often happens, the verse was originally quoted for quite a different purpose, viz. to illustrate the verbal operation of the defined verbal noun *an-nikāyati* 'the spiting' on *ʿaḍāʾahu* 'his enemies' (v. 16.312 n 1, 24.31 n 1).

(3) Verse fragment: *daʿāni l-ḥawānī ʿammahunna wa-kiltunī liya smun fa-lā ʿudā bihi wa-huwa ʿawwalu* 'the maidens called me their uncle, and I imagined I had a name, but I am not called by it while he is first' (*Schaw. Ind.* 180). Note that *kiltunī* corresponds to the Eng. reflexive 'I imagined myself'; on *lī* paraphrasing 'to have' see 26.27 n 3; *liya* is *lī* (= *liy*, 2.43 n 2) with glide vowel before the initial consonant cluster of *smun* (*ismun* in isolation, v. 11.1 n 2); *wa-huwa* is normally pronounced *wa-hwa* in verse. Note the genuinely doubly transitive verb *daʿā* here (10.14 n 2), 'called me their uncle' (concordance between verb and fem. plur. agent, 7.29, overlooked as a poetic licence)

(4) The verb *kāla* has two different roots: from *k-y-l* comes *kāla*, imperfect tense *yakālu* 'to imagine' (cf. 10.23 n 2 end), while from *k-w-l* comes *kāla/yakūlu* 'to look after' (like *qāma*, 10.23 n 2).

10.64 (1) Refs. as in 10.6 n 1. All verbs of stating, thinking, believing etc. have an alternative structure with *ʿinna* (10.42), e.g. *zaʿamtu ʿinna bakran ʿālimun* 'I asserted that Bakr was wise', where the whole clause functions as a direct object. The one exception is *qāla* 'to say', which must be followed by *ʿinna* (10.41), e.g. *qāla ʿinna bakran ʿālimun*: since there is, in theory, no indirect speech in Arabic, this may mean 'he said, "Verily Bakr is wise"' (with *ʿinna* part of what was said) or 'he said that Bakr was wise'. (where *ʿinna* merely subordinates the original *bakrun ʿālimun* to *qāla*). From earliest times indirect speech forms have permeated reported direct speech so that, out of context, *qāla ʿinnahu marīḍun* can mean either 'he said that he (himself) was ill' or 'he said that he (someone else) was ill'.

(2) *Schaw. Ind.* 32. On *lastu* see 10.18, esp. n 4 for predicate with *bi*: *ʿinnama* 9.83 n 2; doubled verb *yadibbu* 11.3 n 1 (cf. *dabīban* from same root).

10.65 (1) Here the past tense paradigm of *raʿā* 'to see', active:

	sing.	dual	plur.
1st	<i>raʾaytu</i>		<i>raʾaynā</i>
2nd masc.	<i>raʾayta</i>	<i>raʾaytumā</i>	<i>raʾaytum</i>
fem.	<i>raʾayti</i>		<i>raʾaytunna</i>
3rd masc.	<i>raʾā</i>	<i>raʾayā</i>	<i>raʾaw</i>
fem.	<i>raʾat</i>	<i>raʾatā</i>	<i>raʾayna</i>

(2) *Schaw. Ind.* 76: occasionally the manuscript does not set out verses in red ink and on separate lines, and this has been followed in the

translation. See 20.42 n 3 on syntax of superlatives.

(3) S. 70 v 6. Here the paradigm of the active, imperfect tense, indep. form of *ra'ā* 'to see':

	sing.	dual	plur.
1st	'arā		narā
2nd masc.	tarā		tarawna
fem.	tarayna	tarayāni	tarayna
3rd masc.	yarā	yarayāni	yarawna
fem.	tarā	tarayāni	yarayna

This verb loses its middle rad. ' in imperfect, otherwise ends like *yakšā* throughout (dep. *yarā* etc., 4.82 n 1, apoc. *yara* etc., 3.92 n 1). Past tense active 10.65 n 1; passive imperfect *yurā* etc., like *yurmā*, 8.3 n 1 (b), past tense *ru'iya* etc., like *laqiya*, 10.14 n 2.

(4) Stem IV (8.63 n 1) of this verb also loses its middle radical ' in imperfect tense: 'urī, *yurī* etc. (endings as *yarmī*, 4.82 n 1) and in past tense: 'araytu, 'arā etc. (endings as *ra'ā*, 10.65 n 1), meaning 'to show'. Passive past tense 'urītu, 'uriya; imperfect tense is same as Stem I. As causative of *ra'ā* cf. 16.310 n 1.

10.66 (1) Refs. as in 10.6 n 1. Here can be added the synonym *darā* 'to know' (like *ra'ā* in past tense, 10.65 n 1 and *yarmī* in imperfect, 4.82 n 1), and Stem V imperative (8.64 n 1) *ta^callam* 'learn' (Alf. v 208).

(2) S. 60 v 10. Note the *ū* intervening between the verb *Calimtum* and the object suffix *hunna*; Proto-Semitic probably had *ū* in this position (Moscatti #13.26-27, Birkeland, *Altarabische Pausalformen*, Oslo 1940, 92), and it is found also on the free pronoun *hum* (e.g. 9.44, 11.719), viz. *humū* but spelt *humū*, with the otiose 'alif, q.v. 7.61 n 2), but its partial survival in Arabic is difficult to explain (stress is a possible factor).

10.67 (1) Refs. as in 10.6 n 1. The main irregularities of 1st rad. *w* verbs are in the imperative (10.38 n 1) and imperfect tense:

	sing.	dual	plur.
1st	'ajidu		najidu
2nd masc.	tajidu		tajidūna
fem.	tajidīna	tajidāni	tajidna
3rd masc.	yajidu	yajidāni	yajidūna
fem.	tajidu	tajidāni	yajidna

(2) S. 38 v 44. Note 'innā, reduction of 'innanā, cf. 10.55 n 3.

10.68 (1) Refs. as in 10.6 n 1; see also 10.69 n 3.

(2) S. 4 v 125 (from this verse comes the now proper name *Ḳalīl* for Abraham; cf. 3.89 (5) on 'ibrāhīmu). The verb *ittakaḍa* is an unusual Stem VIII form (8.68 n 1) of the verb 'aḳaḍa 'to take', in which the first radical ' has assimilated to the infix *t*: in most such verbs the ' either remains (i'tamara from 'amara 'to order') or changes to *y* (i'tamara, = iytamara, cf. 2.43 n 2). With the assimilation 't>tt *ittakaḍa* falls together with the weak 1st rad. verbs, where *wt* is always assimilated to *tt*, e.g. *ittahada* 'to be united', root *w-ḥ-d*, and cf.

muttaṣil 'bound (pronoun)', agent noun of *ittaṣala*, root *w-ṣ-l*. There is, in fact, a widespread fluctuation between initial ' and *w* (even in Classical Arabic, cf. 'aḥad 'one' (pronoun) and *wāḥid* 'one' (adjective)). See Vollers, op. cit. 3.96 n 2, 18, 120, 192.

10.69 (1) Refs. as in 10.6 n 1. Note that in the first example given, the second direct object is actually a noun (and so *ittakaḍa* in the previous paragraph): it seems that here we are leaving the realm of propositions as objects and entering the realm of genuinely doubly transitive verbs (cf. 16.309 n 1 on transitivity). For this reason *ja^Cala* (and others, see n 3 below) are classified by the later grammarians as 'af^Cāl at-taḥwīl 'verbs of transformation'. In this they clearly relate to *kāna* 'to be' and *ṣāra* 'to become' which, perhaps because they denote states of being rather than modes, also have nouns in their predicates (cf. 10.21 n 2 end).

(2) S. 43 v 19. Here *ja^Cala* is regarded as a true 'mental verb' (10.6 n 1), because the agent of *ja^Calū* 'they made' is the unbelievers, and this can only mean that they 'consider' the angels female, hence the paraphrase with *i^Ctaḡada* 'to consider'.

(3) Here we may also add other 'verbs of transformation' such as *radda* 'to restore', *ṣayyara* 'to cause to become' (cf. *ṣāra* 'to become', 10.17) and see further Reckendorf, *Arab. Synt.* 87, Wright II, 47. An example of *ḵalaḡa* 'to create' is in 19.34.

10.70 (1) This verb is neither a 'mental' nor 'transforming' verb, see the argument in 10.71.

(2) This is the usual way of introducing a Tradition of the Prophet (cf. 1.01 n 4).

10.71 (1) On Abū ^CAlī al-Fārisī see G.A.L. I, 113, E.I. (2), art. 'al-Fārisī', and the monograph Abū ^CAlī al-Fārisī by ^CAbd al-Fattāḡ Ismā^Cīl Ṣalabī, Cairo 1968. He belonged to the 'Baṣran' school (9.4 n 3) and was active at the Buwayhid court in Baghdad, dying in 987. See Mehiri (op. cit. 24.1 n 2) on his most famous pupil, Ibn Jinnī.

(2) The problem is discussed at greater length by aṣ-Ṣabbān, on al-Uṣmūnī on Alf. v 207, where the original inclusion of *sami^Ca* is attributed to al-Aḵfaṣ (26.01 n 3). The claim is that if the first object of *sami^Ca* is not what was actually heard then the second object must denote what was heard just as, after *ḡanna* (10.61) the second object denotes what was thought. Alternatively the second dependent element may be treated as a circumstantial qualifier (ch. 19), as in the paraphrase *sami^Ctu n-nabiyya ḡā'ilan* 'I heard the Prophet saying'.

(3) 'af^Cāl al-ḥawāṣṣ 'verbs of the senses', a very late introduction into grammatical terminology (cf. also 24.25 n 1).

(4) See 16.309 n 1.

10.8 (1) These verbs do not operate on sentences prefixed with *la* (v. 13.6 n 4), e.g. *ḡanantu la-zaydun munṭaliḡun* or negatives *lā, mā* etc., e.g. *ḡanantu mā zaydun munṭaliḡun*, or interrogative 'a (5.741 n 1),

e.g. *zanantu 'a-zaydun munṭaliqun*; see *Muf.* #445; *Alf.* v 213; *Qaṭr* 174. In some cases there exists the possibility of treble transitivity, by making the verb causative (Stem IV, 8.63 n 1), e.g. *'a^Clamtuhu zaydan munṭaliqan* lit. 'I made him know Zayd going away', i.e. 'I informed him that Zayd was going' (cf. 16.310 n 1).

10.9 (1) Some make it five by subdividing coordination into two, explanatory and sequential (see 12.0 nn 2, 3).

11.0 (1) *Jum.* 26; *Muf.* #140; *Alf.* v 506; *Qaṭr* 322; Beeston 44; Fleisch 186; Bateson 43, 48; Yushmanov 68; Diem, *Oriens* 23/24, 312. There are two almost synonymous sets of terminology: *waṣf* or *na^{Ct}* 'describing function' and 'describing element, adjective', *ṣifa* 'adjective', also 'quality, property' (cf. 14.31 n 2), *mawṣūf* or *man^{Cūt}* 'thing described' (here translated as 'antecedent'). While *waṣf* and *na^{Ct}* appear to be completely interchangeable (and are also used to denote circumstantial qualifiers, q.v. ch. 19), *ṣifa* only occurs when the antecedent is a noun (so Mosel, *Die syntaktische Terminologie bei Sibawaih*, Munich 1975, 287). But *ṣifa* is broader in meaning than our 'adjective': verbs, relative clauses etc. are also *ṣifa* (Diem, 313). The terminological doublets remain unexplained.

11.01 (1) *tābi^C li-l-man^{Cūt}*, lit. 'a follower of the thing described'; *tābi^C* 'follower' may originally have referred only to word order, but was soon extended to cover agreement in number, gender and definition (hence *tab^Ciyya* 'concordance', but see 11.02 n 1). In 13.45 *tābi^C* has the meaning 'subsidiary, subordinate'.

(2) 'True adjective' is literal for *na^{Ct} ḥaqīqī*, but for *na^{Ct} sababī* an explanatory rendering has had to be used, see further 11.5 n 1.

11.02 (1) The translation of this paragraph may give a slightly more abstract impression than the original: 'features', 'numbers' and 'gender' are not in the original, and 'inflections' is perhaps less concrete than the Arabic *wujūh al-'i^Crāb* 'modes of inflection' (cf. 22.4 n 1, and cf. 2.15 n 1). There are, in fact, no higher order abstract terms for the features dealt with here (even though Greek and Syriac equivalents were readily available for borrowing): 'case' is sometimes referred to as a 'state' of the noun (*ḥāla*, but see 11.2 n 1), and the rest are simply enumerated (virtual merismos). Even *tab^Ciyya* does not mean concordance as a grammatical category, but only the property that some Arabic words have of 'following' the inflection of their antecedent (cf. 1.31 n 4).

(2) This is true for attributive adjectives only: see 9.12 for the predicative adjective. For 'semantically linked' adjectives see 11.5.

11.1 (1) See 2.1 n 2 on *lafz* 'form' and *ma^Cnā* 'meaning', and 11.45 on the concealed pronoun assumed in the predicative adjective. On the syntactic contrast between concord and discord see 19.5 n 2. Note that nouns and adjectives are not morphologically distinct (cf. 3.41), but see 11.61 n 1 for functional differences.

(2) It will be noticed that 'intelligent' has been transliterated in isolation as *al-^Cāqilu* but in context as *il-^Cāqilu* (and even *l-^Cāqilu* elsewhere, e.g. 11.41). The variations are due to the nature of the prefix *al* 'the' (1.5) and the rule that no syllable may begin with more than one consonant (2.43 n 2). The three solutions are: (a) utterance initial *al* is written and pronounced 'al, forming an independent closed syllable, CVC; (b) after a short vowel (or long, since these are automatically shortened in this context) *al* is pronounced *l* (but still written 'al), the *l* now closing the previous syllable, CV-C; (c) after a consonant *al* is pronounced *l* (and still spelt 'al), but a new syllable is created by introducing a glide vowel, usually *i*, C-V-C. The constant spelling 'al is historical, all words being spelt as if in isolation (cf. 2.14 n 2), but in juncture the ' bears a special sign indicating that it is not to be pronounced (the *hamzat al-waṣl* ' of juncture'). For assimilation of *l* to following consonants see 11.41 n 2.

All other initial consonant clusters are resolved on the same principle, by prefixing *i* (for exception see 5.2 n 3), written 'i but elided in juncture (see further 13.12 n 1). There is occasional vowel harmony, notably with *hum*, *kum*, *tum*, e.g. *katabtum ul-kitāba* 'you (masc. plur.) wrote the book' (another example 22.43 n 1), and with *min* 'from' the glide vowel is always *a* (e.g. 1.701).

11.2 (1) A comparison with the use of the term *ḥāl(a)*, plur. *ḥālāt* or 'aḥwāl (19.0 n 3) in 3.422, 5.93, 9.8, 18.104, 21.1 etc. will show that 'case' would be far too narrow a translation, however tempting here.

(2) Note that the verb is quoted conventionally in its 3rd masc. sing. past tense form (3.52 n 3); the full paradigm is in 10.65 n 1.

11.3 (1) This verb is a 'doubled verb' (*fi^Cl mudā^Caf*), i.e. one whose second and third radicals are the same. An apparent irregularity in this class of verb is caused by the phonological rule that identical consonants tend to assimilate when separated by an unstressed vowel, cf. the paradigm of the imperfect tense, independent form, active:

	sing.	dual	plur.
1st	'amurru		namurru
2nd masc.	tamurru	tamurrāni	tamurrūna
fem.	tamurrīna		tamurna
3rd masc.	yamurru	yamurrāni	yamurrūna
fem.	tamurru	tamurrāni	yamurna

Contrast *tamurrūna* (←**tamrurūna*) with *tamrūrna*. Dep. and apoc. forms 4.82 nn 1, 2; passive 8.3 n 1; past tense 10.61 n 1.

(2) See 5.82 n 6 on 'semantically connected', *muta^calliq*.

11.41 (1) See 3.63-65 on the dual.

(2) Note that here the definite article *al*, as well as losing its first component in juncture (11.1 n 2) has also assimilated to the *z* of *Zayd*. In fact the *l* assimilates to exactly half of the 28 consonants of Classical Arabic, viz. *t, ṭ, d, ḏ, r, z, s, š, ṣ, ḍ, ṭ, ṣ, l, n*, all of which are linguals, which doubtless explains the ease with which *l* assimilates to them. Ullendorf (*Arabic and Islamic Studies in Honor of H.A.R. Gibb*, ed. G. Makdisi, Leiden 1965, 631) suggests that definition was originally marked in Arabic, as in Hebrew, by doubling the first consonant, and that *l* has only evolved later by dissimilation (he can produce other examples of dissimilation to *l* in other contexts). The theory is plausible but somehow fails to convince; however, it is interesting that, with dialect assimilations of the def. article to *b, j, f, q, k, m* included, only laryngeals and pharyngeals remain, which are also not doubled with the Hebrew article. Cf. Yushmanov 33.

(3) More accurately, the 'sound' masc. plur., q.v. 3.41. Note that proper names without the def. article (11.82 n 4) acquire one in the dual and plural, cf. 3.65 n 8.

11.42 (1) Comparison with other paragraphs will show that the masc. is the unmarked form, with the fem. being marked typically with the infix *at* (but better treated as a suffix, see below) between the last radical of the stem and the case endings (cf. *Kitāb* I, 6 on priority of masc. over fem.). The *at* suffix (and its plur. *āt*, cf. 4.31 n 1) is undoubtedly Proto-Semitic, and is also present in Hamitic (Moscatti #12.32). Connections with the verbal suffix *t* (1.83) are obscure.

Orthographically there are problems with *at*, chiefly due to historical spelling. In a few words a *t* (the 'long *t*', *tā'* *muṭawwala*) is suffixed directly to the root, e.g. '*uḵt* 'sister' (cf. '*aḵ* 'brother'), *bint* 'daughter' (cf. *ibn* 'son'), and in some Qur'anic spellings. Normally, however, *at* is represented in word final position by *ah* with two dots over the *h* indicating that it has the value *t* (the 'knotted *t*', *tā'* *marbūṭa*, after the shape of the letter *h*), this *ah* reproducing the pausal pronunciation of *at* (see 2.14 n 2), a spelling also found after long vowels (4.31 n 1). When not pausal, the *at* is further suffixed with the inflection markers (4.11 n 1); with dual (4.5 n 1) and pronoun suffixes (4.72 n 2) the *t* resumes normal form. Other fem. suffixes, *ā, ā'*, 11.43 n 2; distribution of *at*, 11.44 n 2; fem. gender in general 11.43 n 3; summary of main problems, Fleisch, Tr. #66. See also Bateson 20; Yushmanov 37.

11.43 (1) See 11.8 for indefiniteness.

(2) Among the points to note here are: (a) the verb *jā'a* 'came' remains singular regardless of the number of the agent (see 7.22 n 1, and cf.

the fem. sing. verbs in 11.42, 44, with fem. agents); (b) adjectives qualifying plur. nouns seem to fluctuate arbitrarily between sound plur. (*Ḥāqilūna*, 11.41, *Ḥāqilātun*, 11.44) and broken plur. (*Ḥuqalā'u*, 11.43, 44), a phenomenon which still needs to be clarified (cf. 9.12 n 4); (c) the broken plur. *Ḥuqalā'u* is formally a feminine, as it bears the fem. suffix *ā'* (cf. 3.89 n 2), which may or may not be connected with an assumed 'collective' function of the fem. gender (11.44 n 2). The cognate (?) suffix *ā* (3.89 n 2) is a fem. marker of highly limited occurrence, being found almost exclusively in the pattern *fuḥlā* (e.g. *kubrā* 'greatest'), fem. of the 'elative' adjective, q.v. 3.89 n 10.

(3) Some remarks on gender: the two genders of Arabic, viz. *muḍakkar* 'masculine' (lit. 'made masc.', denominative verb from *ḍakar* 'male') and *mu'annaṭ* 'feminine' (denom. verb from *uṇṭā* 'female'), are not distributed completely according to natural gender: many masc. nouns are marked fem. (see 3.411 n 1, 11.44 n 2), and many fem. nouns and adjectives are unmarked (see 3.411 n 2, 20.13 n 2); moreover gender may change by attraction (see 26.94-96). Gender is thus purely grammatical. *Jum.* 285; *Muf.* #263; *Alf.* v 758; Beeston 39; Fleisch 46, Tr. #66; Bateson 12; Yushmanov 37, 67. Cf. also 26.95 n 1.

11.44 (1) For the juncture feature in *imra'atun* see 19.72 n 4.

(2) Distribution of the fem. suffix *at* is broadly: (a) marking natural fem. gender, contrast *ḡādimun* 'manservant', *ḡādimatun* 'maidservant'; (b) as an individualizing suffix, contrast *samakun* 'fish (as a class)', *samakātun* 'a single fish' (cf. 25.32 n 2), *ḡarḡun* 'hitting (as a type of action)', *ḡarḡatun* 'a single blow'; (c) on certain broken plural patterns (3.221), e.g. *ḡalabatun* 'students' (and cf. *uḡalā'u*, 11.43 n 2); (d) on certain masc. proper names and intensives, e.g. *ḡaliffatun* 'caliph' (see further 3.411 n 1); (e) on many abstract nouns, e.g. *wizāratun* 'ministry', *akṡariyyatun* 'majority' (from *akṡar* 'most', see 11.721 n 4), cf. also 3.231 n 2 for abstracts with sound feminine plur. See Colin, *G.L.E.C.S.* 3, 41, for the view that *at* has always been fundamentally an individualizing suffix.

11.45 (1) This asserts that adjectives are equivalent to verb phrases (*Ḥāqilun* = *yaḤqilu* 'he is intelligent'), i.e. to relative clauses ('who is intelligent', v. 11.753), thereby accounting for number and gender concord. The idea may originate from Sībawayhi's observation that *ḡāḡā rajulun ḡāribun/ḡarabanā* 'this is a man striking/who struck us' are synonymous (*Kitāb* I, 4). Cf. Fleischer, *Kl. Schr.* II, 90, Wright II, 284; Beeston 71; see further 11.5 n 2.

11.5 (1) *Jum.* 107; *Muf.* #145, 348; *Alf.* v 507; *Qaṡr* 324, 329; Beeston 94; Fleisch 174. 'Semantically linked' renders *sababī*, lit. 'having a bond or tie' (contrast *sabab* 'cause', 24.22 n 1, which shows a different, and unrelated extension of the same root meaning): like *mutaḤalliḡ* 'connected' (5.82 n 6), the bond is semantic rather than structural (see notes following, and cf. Carter, *B.S.O.A.S.* 35, 488).

(2) Structurally the 'semantically linked' adjectival phrase is an inverted relative clause in which the original predicate acquires

partial concordance with the antecedent (see analysis in 11.41). The closely related structures of the complex predicate (9.75, 76) and the annexed adjective (26.92) should be compared with the semantically linked adjective, as all three share the property of referring both backwards to the antecedents they qualify and forwards to the true, grammatical subject (or agent) within the qualifying phrase (hence *ḡāt wajhayn* 'two-faced', 9.75 n 1).

11.51 (1) The four concordance features are effectively shared between the two 'antecedents' on each side: definition and case for the former and number and gender for the latter (note that these adjectives are predicates of the second noun, and in predicates definition and case are structurally indifferent, cf. 9.03, 9.81 n 2). However, it may be that both 'antecedents' have the same number or gender, and the adjective will then appear (as in the examples here) to concord in three or even all four features (e.g. *huwa rajulun qā'imun 'abūhu* 'he is a man whose father is standing'), which is why aš-Širbīnī says that the adjective 'does not have to concord' in number or gender with the first antecedent (11.5, and cf. 11.52).

(2) The 'true' adjective theoretically contains an independent pronoun referring to its antecedent (11.45), while the semantically linked kind is already the predicate of an explicit noun (n 1): moreover this predicate is essentially verbal (all verbs are predicates, 3.73 n 5), as is reinforced by the choice of present participles in the examples. However, even adjectives of non-participial form (cf. 26.92 n 2) are verbal in origin: 'all adjectival qualification is verbal or can be reduced to a verbal concept' (Ibn Jinnī, op. cit. 9.02 n 1, 33).

(3) Examples of defined antecedents are omitted; they would be *marartu bi-r-rajuli l-qā'imati 'ummuhu* 'I passed by the man whose mother was standing' and *marartu bi-l-imra'ati l-qā'imi 'abūhā* 'I passed by the woman whose father was standing'. The similarity to relative clauses is particularly marked (cf. 11.753 n 3).

11.52 (1) Cf. 11.51 n 1. For a variety of reasons full concord is not always evident, e.g. *zaydun il-Cāqilu* (defined nouns with *tanwīn* 11.81), *ḡalīfatun Cādīlun* 'a just caliph' (masc. nouns with fem. marker, 3.411 n 1), *Cajūzun marīḡatun* 'a sick old lady' (unmarked fem. nouns, 20.13 n 2), *imra'atun Cāqirun* 'a barren woman' (unmarked fem. adj., 3.411 n 2), *kutubun qadīmatun* 'old books' (broken plur. is grammatically fem. sing., 4.12 n 3), *ḡalqun katīrūna* 'many people' (collective noun with plur. adj., cf. 9.95), *ḡanamun rāCiyatun* 'grazing sheep' (non-human collective noun with fem. sing. adj., cf. Fleisch 47, 3.64 n 2).

(2) The passive participle occurs as a semantically linked adjective, e.g. *al-mas'alatu l-muḡāru 'ilayhā* 'the problem referred to' (lit. 'at which pointing has been done'), concurring with the unknown agent (8.1) and not (as in some European languages) with the antecedent. Cf. 26.92 n 4.

11.6 (1) *Jum.* 27; *Muf.* #57; *Alf.* v 517; *Qaṭr* 331; Reckendorf, *Arab Synt.* 114. 'Suspend adjectival concordance' is a rather ponderous

translation of *qaṭʿ aṣ-ṣifa* 'cutting the adjective off': in earlier grammar *qaṭʿ* 'cutting' had a somewhat wider currency in the context of discord in general (cf. Carter, *Arabica* 20, 297).

(2) Ultimately the speaker's intentions are the determining factor in this construction (cf. 14.4 n 5), which has become generally known as *an-naṣb ʿalā l-madhʿaw aḍ-ḍamm* 'dependence in praise or blame' (and cf. 20.9 n 1 on the similar construction *taḫṣīṣ* 'specializing').

11.61 (1) Nouns and adjectives are morphologically indistinguishable in Arabic, but their functions do not entirely overlap. The following generalizations are to be taken as a guide to a problem which has not yet been fully explored: (a) all adjectives may function as nouns, but it is not clear how essential it is to assume an elided antecedent in every case (cf. next note); (b) some nouns never function as adjectives, in particular those of an exclusively nominal 'pattern' (10.37 n 1), such as the verbal noun: this appears to be the only class in which there are no adjectives of the same pattern, contrast *faʿul*, which is both the pattern of the 'underived' noun *rajul* 'man' (20.7 n 1) and the adjective *faruq* 'timorous' (Fleisch 56). See further Beeston 34; Fleisch 187.

(2) S. 37 v 48. *Muf.* #149; *Alf.* v 519. There is no difficulty in recovering 'damsels' (Palmer, Bell) from the sound fem. plur. agent pattern of *qāṣirātu*, though perhaps Sale goes a little too far with his 'virgins of Paradise'. Cf. 26.92 on the annexation construction here.

(3) S. 18 v 79, meaning every ship not destroyed in battle.

(4) *Schaw. Ind.* 143; see *E.I.* (2), art. 'al-^CAbbās b. Mirdās', *G.A.S.* II, 242 on this poet and tribal leader who became an ally of Muḥammad in 629. The restoration of an adjective for *ṣayʿan* 'thing' is a rhetorical pedantry, as the hyperbole is both deliberate and obvious. Among points worth noting here are: the verbal marker *qad*, 1.81; the defective noun *ḡā* 'possessor of', 3.42, here with dep. form as predicate of *kuntu* 'I was', 10.11; *tudraʿin* 'strength, see below, n 6; *lam*, negative particle followed by apocopated verbs, 5.71; *ʿu^Cṭa* 'I am given' is the passive imperfect tense (8.3), first person singular, apocopated form (3.92), Stem IV (8.63 n 1) of the root ^C-ṭ-w 'give' (weak 3rd rad. *w* changes to *y* in all derived Stems, and the endings of the passive then become the same as the Stem I active verb *yaḫṣā* (4.81 n 2), apoc. *yaḫṣa*), and is doubly transitive (16.310 n 1); *ʿumna^Ci* 'I was refused' is also first person sing. passive imperfect tense (8.3 n 1), but has final *i* because of the rhyme, see 5.88 n 4.

(5) The historical background notes, and indeed the entire contents of this paragraph, are based upon al-Azhari, *Taṣr.* II, 119, where also the subsequent four verses are quoted. On Ḥunayn see *E.I.* (2), art. 'Ḥunayn'.

(6) Since *tudraʿ* is a common noun it is fully declinable (*muṣṣarif* etc., q.v. 1.41 n 1, 3.87 n 3): had it been a proper name it would, according to 3.89 (6), have been semi-declinable, since in form it is identical with the 2nd masc. sing. imperfect tense passive. These nouns with

verbal prefixes (cf. 3.89 n 6 for prefix *y*) were almost certainly true verbs before they became used as nouns, cf. Fleisch 81.

11.7 (1) See 11.8 n 1 on terminology of definition and indefinition. Though the def. art. *al* and the (to our way of thinking) indefinition marker *tanwīn* (1.4) are in complementary distribution in the sing. and sound fem. plur., they occur together (albeit with allomorphs *ni/na* of *tanwīn*) in the dual and sound masc. plur. (compare paradigms, 4.5 n 1, 4.6 n 1 respectively). This is one of the reasons why *tanwīn* is not analysed primarily as an indefinition marker (1.42 n 1) and that indefinition is regarded as the unmarked state (hence logically prior, as argued here, cf. *Kitāb* I, 6). 'Contextual element' is *qarīna*, lit. 'accompanying element' (see 9.81, 10.18), a term perhaps taken over from logic (cf. van Ess, *op. cit.* 3.87 n 2, 28, n 34). Here it embraces all definition markers, formal and abstract (cf. 11.72).

11.701 (1) *Jum.* 27, 191; *Muf.* #262; *Alf.* v 52; *Qaṭr* 89; Beeston 36; Fleisch 170; Bateson 9; Nöldeke 29; Gätje, *Arabica* 17, 225; Drozdik, *African and Asian Studies* 6, 9; Pellat, *G.L.E.C.S.* 5, 88. Further kinds of definition: 11.77 n 3.

11.71 (1) *Jum.* 27; *Muf.* #160; *Alf.* v 54; *Qaṭr* 90; Beeston 39; Fleisch 135; Bateson 39; Yushmanov 26; Nöldeke 13, 47. For 'pronoun' we have two terms: *ḡamīr* lit. 'mind, conscience, thing in the mind', and *muḡmar* lit. 'that which is concealed in the mind'. The former is only used for 'pronoun', and the latter, and its verb *'aḡmara* 'to conceal in the mind', refer to the suppression of elements in general, e.g. of 'an' 'that' in 5.4 (for an early example cf. *Kitāb* I, 52, suppression of a verb). The verb *'aḡmara* is an antonym of *'aḡraba* 'to express openly', q.v. 2.0.

(2) The periphrastic nomenclature is retained here, see 9.22.

11.711 (1) This theological intrusion (v. 5.751 n 1) may date from the time of aṣ-Širbīnī himself: aṣ-Šabbān, on al-Uṣmūnī on *Alf.* v 53, can cite only aṣ-Šanawānī (d. 1610). The hierarchy of defined elements is not developed by Sībawayhi (cf. *Kitāb* I, 219) but has become so by the time of al-Mubarrad (*Muqtaḍab* IV, 281; cf. *Jum.* 192, *Muf.* #262 and the dispute in *Inṣāf*, prob. 101).

(2) Although implicit in Sībawayhi (cf. Troupeau, *Lexique-Index*, s.v. *quwwa* 'power' (q-w-y) and *manzila* 'status' (n-z-l), explicit terms for 'rank', viz. *rutba* (syn. *martaba*) do not appear until about the tenth century. Cf. also 11.761, 22.0 n 4.

(3) The word is *'adāh* 'tool', a synonym of *ḡarf*, see 21.02 n 1.

11.712 (1) The technique of dichotomous classification (1.2 n 2) is particularly obvious here; for convenience the subdivisions have been numbered (a) (i) and (ii), (b) (i) and (ii) in subsequent paragraphs.

(2) 'Outward form' renders *ṣūra* lit. 'form, shape, idea', a term very often encountered in philosophy but seldom in grammar (other examples 11.733, 21.12). When the concept of linguistic form needs to be

expressed, the more usual terms are *šakl* 'shape, form' (3.221); *šīḡa* 'shape, form' (3.65 (2), 5.02, 7.01, 7.03), or *lafz* 'expression' (1.11).

11.713 (1) See 11.714 n 1 for general references, and 11.714 n 3 for continuation of the points raised here. Terminology: 'necessarily implicit' *muqaddar wujūban*, cf. 2.101 n 4 on *taqdīr* 'implication' and 9.8 n 2 on *wājib* 'compulsory'; 'irreplaceable' *lā yaḡlufuhu* lit. 'there does not take its place' (cognate with *kalīfa* 'caliph', cf. 5.51 n 2, here a synonym of *nāba*, q.v. 3.0 n 3); 'explicit noun' *zāhir*, 7.2 n 1; 'free pronoun' *qamīr munfaṣil*, 11.716; 'positions' *mawāḏiʿ*, i.e. functions, cf. 3.1 n 4. Compulsorily concealed pronouns are found only in the 1st and 2nd person, imperfect tense and imperative; see 11.714 n 3.

11.714 (1) Concealed pronouns in general: *Muf.* #165; *Alf.* v 60, *Qaṭr* 91; Bateson 39, and cf. 7.58 n 1, 7.8 n 1. On *jāʿiz* 'permissible', *jawāzan* 'optional' and *wājib* 'compulsory' see 9.8 n 2.

(2) Free pronouns only replace a concealed 3rd person pronoun after 'illā and 'innamā (see 7.7, 7.81, 8.8), without restriction of person, thus *mā qāma 'illā 'anā* 'none stood but I' etc. (cf. 11.717 n 4).

(3) The reasoning here and in 11.713 will be easier to understand if we bear in mind that the 3rd sing. verb has no agent marker and may, in fact, be followed by overt agents of dual or plural number (see 7.58 n 1). The agent pronoun is thus entirely inferential: it is assumed to be present when no overt agent is named (*qāma* 'he stood') or when the agent precedes the verb (*zaydun qāma* 'Zayd, he stood', cf. 7.12 n 1 and contrast *zaydun qāma 'abūhu* 'Zayd's father stood', 9.75), and it is assumed to be absent when its position is occupied by an overt agent, either noun (*qāma zaydun* 'Zayd stood') or pronoun (*qāmū* 'they stood', *mā qāma 'illā huwa* 'none stood but he'). It is true that the compulsorily concealed pronouns of 11.713 are inferential too (7.8 n 1), but these cannot be replaced by overt nouns or pronouns without moving into the 3rd person: *'aqūmu* 'I stand' has 'N. stands' as its overt equivalent, *'anā maḡrūbun* means 'I am one who has been struck' and may be expressed as *'anā huwa l-maḡrūbu* 'I am he that has been struck' (cf. Cantarino, II, 433, Fleisch 138, Tr. #110d, and see 11.717 n 4).

11.715 (1) *Muf.* #160; *Alf.* v 55; *Qaṭr* 92; others in 11.71 n 1. Terms are: 'visible' *bāriz*, lit. 'protruding', antonym *mustatir* 'concealed' (7.58 n 1), neither used by early grammarians (Sibawayhi, al-Mubarrad etc.) but in evidence by the time of az-Zamaḡṣarī (d. 1144); for 'bound' *muttaṣil* see 11.716 n 1, 'operation' *ʿamal* 2.11 n 1.

(2) This is a repeat of 7.5, q.v. n 2 on 'unconstrained', *ikṭiyāran*. Its antonym *iqṭirāran* 'by constraint' and the cognate *ḡarūra* 'need, constraint' have come to denote specifically poetic licence, cf. 1.45 n 3 (8), 1.51.

(3) The full inventory of independent bound (agent) pronouns is found in 7.51-62; the paradigm of the oblique bound (possessive) pronoun is in 4.72 n 2; bound dependent (object) pronouns are in 16.301-312.

11.716 (1) *Muf.* #160; *Alf.* v 61; *Qaṭr* 93; others in 11.71 n 1. 'Free is *munfaṣil*, lit. 'separate' (same root as *damīr al-faṣl* 'separating pronoun' in 9.81 n 2), antonym *muttaṣil*, lit. 'connected', clearly representing the bound/free contrast as it is now termed. Free pronouns as agents 7.7, 8.8, as subjects 9.22-24.

(2) See 16.501-512 for the free dependent pronouns.

11.717 (1) 'Basic' renders 'uṣūl, plur. of 'aṣl 'base, root, stock', and 'derivatives' is *furūc*, lit. 'branches', cf. 3.0 n 2. The priority of singular over dual and plural, and of masculine over feminine, are a priori assumptions which go back to the earliest grammar (e.g. *Kitāb I*, 6) and may well have been borrowed informally from Greek sources (cf. Carter, *R.E.I.* 40, 94; Versteegh has not taken up this topic, only a passing mention 84 on priority of nouns over verbs, but cf. 1.21-22). A later addition to the hierarchy is the priority of the first person over the second and so on (al-Mubarrad, *Muqtaḍab IV*, 281). For priority of undefined over defined see 11.7.

(2) The six items listed in this paragraph correspond to the six pronouns in 11.716, viz. three independent and three dependent.

(3) 'Absolutely' is *muṭlaqan*, lit. 'set loose, without restraint' (cf. 17.3 n 1), in this case meaning that there is no distinction of gender.

(4) Further to 11.714 n 3: free pronouns may indeed occur after verb phrases, but only for emphasis, e.g. 'aqūmu 'anā 'I stand!', qum 'anta 'stand, you!'. Here the pronouns do not replace the concealed agents but are simply in apposition to them (cf. 13.14 n 4), it being a matter of indifference whether the antecedent pronoun is concealed, as above, or overt (visible, 11.715), e.g. qumtu 'anā 'I stood!'. In the type mā qāma 'illā 'anā 'none stood but I' (11.714 n 2) the verb strictly has no logical agent until one is explicitly mentioned (21.3), hence verbs with visible pronoun agents cannot occur in this construction, or rather, if they do, their agent cannot be the antecedent of the excepted noun itself (but mā qumtu 'illā 'ijlālan lahu 'I stood only out of respect for him' is possible because exception is from something other than the agent).

(5) i.e. because the fem., and the dual and plur. are derivative (n 1).

11.718 (1) This is substantially a repeat of 9.3; see also n 3 below.

(2) A feature of the pronoun (which it shares with other defined elements of a fundamentally deictic nature, viz. the def. article and the demonstratives, and cf. 11.753 n 3 on undefined relatives) is that it may yet refer to something undefined, as in jā'a rajulun wa-sallamtu ḥalayhi 'a man came and I greeted him' (another example 13.2 n 2), cf. *Kitāb I*, 220: 'you only pronominalize a noun after you are certain that the person you are addressing already knows whom or what you mean, and that you mean something specific' (cf. 11.72 on 'specific').

(3) Some slight casuistry is involved here: taking the free pronouns as a basis, there are indeed twelve different forms, as there is no gender

distinction in the dual. Nevertheless there are thirteen different agent suffixes (or better: 13 marked categories of agent) in the past tense verb, with 3rd dual gender distinction, and only eleven distinct forms in the imperfect tense (2nd masc. sing. and 3rd fem. sing. are the same, as are 2nd dual common and 3rd dual fem.). An Arab grammarian would argue that *ā* is a common dual agent pronoun in the 3rd dual past tense (7.60), and that the *t* prefixes of the imperfect are not pronouns (5.3 n 3).

(4) Agent pronouns 7.51-62; subject pronouns 9.22-24; object pronouns 16.301-312 (bound), 16.501-512 (free); possessive pronouns 4.72 n 2, which complete the sixty.

(5) Namely the dual agent suffix *ā* and the masc. plur. suffix *ū* (3.44). Since there is some doubt as to exactly how many imperfect tense verb forms contain these pronouns (3.45) they are pedagogically untidy and cannot be smoothly fitted into the scheme!

11.719 (1) Largely a repeat of 9.4-44 (notes there are complementary to these here).

(2) Possibly to avoid confusion with 'an 'that' (5.41). But there is much uncertainty about the value of the final *ā* of 'anā, which in poetry (as assured by scansion) is sometimes long and sometimes short. Rabin, *Anc. West-Ar.* 151, suggests that it may have two different roots, one with long and one with short final vowel (and cf. Nöldeke 14, Moscati #13.2, 13.7). For Trager and Rice, *Language* 30, 226, there seemed no point in segmenting 'anā, as it produced no useful contrasts, and in this they fortuitously side with the 'Kūfans' (9.4 n 3).

(3) 'Letters' translates 'aḥruf, a plural of ḥarf (1.25) 'particle', but here clearly to be understood as grapheme or letter of the alphabet (cf. next note). For Ibn Mālik see 1.02 n 2.

(4) 'Letters of apostrophe' renders ḥurūf al-*ḵiṭāb* literally (ḥurūf is another plur. of ḥarf 'particle': the form 'aḥruf above is theoretically a 'plural of paucity', q.v. 13.31 n 5, though this distinction is seldom correctly applied, even by grammarians). Here we must understand ḥurūf to mean 'morphemes', cf. 1.25 n 2. On distributional grounds Trager and Rice, *Language* 30, 226, reject the segmentation 'an-ta etc., and opt for 'ant(a), thereby (synchronically at least) discounting the strong formal resemblance between the free pronouns and the agent suffixes (7.23 n 1).

(5) See 9.44 n 1 on the reasoning here.

(6) This must surely appear perverse to the Western grammarian, who can hardly be blamed for seeing the suffixes *hu* etc. on 'iyyā as identical with the bound object pronoun suffixes. But see notes to 16.501 et seq. for the justification of the Arab view.

(7) 'By convention common to all three meanings' translates *wuḍiʿat muṣṭarīkatan bayna l-maʿānī ṭ-ṭalāṭati*: for *wuḍiʿat*, lit. 'has been put', cf. *waḍʿ* 'conventional denotation', 11.81 n 1; for *muṣṭarīka* lit. 'sharing', cf. 'equivocal' in 3.65 n 10, though our word here is to be

taken quite literally; *ma^Cānī* is literally 'meanings', but here might be better understood as 'semantic functions' (scil. pronominalization of the 1st, 2nd and 3rd person), cf. 2.2 n 5, 12.92 n 1.

(8) See 1.83 on fem. *t*, 16.504 n 2 on the 'other views' about '*iyyā*'.

11.72 (1) *Jum.* 27, 192, 229; *Muf.* #4; *Alf.* v 72; *Qaṭr* 96; Beeston 36; *E.I.* (2), 1st art. 'Ism'. The term *ḥalam* 'proper name' is literally 'signpost, banner, waymark' (and is cognate with *ḥalāma* 'marker', q.v. 3.0 n 1). Further examples of proper names: 3.411, 3.89, 11.81, 23.41. The entities denoted by proper names in Arabic overlap completely the corresponding modern categories, specific people, places, countries, but cf. 11.722. On noun classes in general cf. 3.64 n 2.

(2) 'Makes...absolutely specific': see 17.3 n 1 on *muṭlaq* 'absolute'; *ta^Cyīn* 'making specific' is literally 'individualizing, nominating' (cf. *ḥayn* 'self', 13.31, from the same root, similarly *ism ḥayn* 'concrete noun', 24.21 n 2). Contrast the definition of the common noun in 11.8.

(3) On 'formal', *lafẓī*, and 'abstract', *ma^Cnawī*, cf. 2.1 n 2. The fact that many proper names are prefixed with *al* 'the' is irrelevant (11.82 n 4): it remains true that formally defined common nouns can be applied to more than one individual. Abstract definition is effected by the act of pointing with the demonstratives (11.73) and apostrophizing with the vocatives (23.42 n 1). Pronominalization itself does not guarantee that a noun is defined (11.718 n 2).

11.721 (1) For formal categories of proper name see 11.723. The semantic categories are 'personal', *ṣakṣī* and 'generic', *jinsī* (11.722), the personal including places, tribes etc. For 'conventionally denoting' see *waḍ^C*, 11.81 n 1; 'externally' contrasts with 'mentally' in 11.722.

(2) She was a pre-Islamic poet, see *G.A.S.* II, 310. Names are either 'transferred', *manqūl*, lit. 'carried over' as here, or *murtajal*, lit. 'extemporized', i.e. names not derived from existing roots (e.g. *Faḥ^Cṣ*) or in patterns used only for names (*Su^Cād*, cf. 3.89 (8), (9)).

(3) Evidently it is aṣ-Ṣīrbīnī who is mistaken (or rather, he has uncritically transmitted the error from his source al-Azharī, *Taṣr.* I, 114). In al-Jawharī's dictionary *aṣ-Ṣiḥāḥ*, s.v. *qaran*, it is stated unequivocally that 'Uways is named after Qaran (however, signs of confusion between Qaran and Qarn are discernible in Yāqūt's *Mu^Cjam al-buldān*, s.v. *qarn*). Al-Jawharī himself is a famous lexicographer and grammarian who died c. 1007, apparently while trying to fly from the roof of a mosque (*G.A.L.* I, 128; *E.I.* (2), art. 'al-Djawharī').

(4) 'Gentilic' is a narrow (but conventional) translation of *mansūb*, from *nisba* lit. 'relationship' of blood, extended thence to logical and other relationships (cf. 20.02 n 1). In grammar it denotes adjectives formed by suffixing *ī* (*iyyun* etc. with case endings), possibly related to the *i* of the oblique ('genitive') case. Originally suffixed only to proper names, it was soon generalized (e.g. *lafẓī* 'pertaining to form', *kārijī* 'external'), and the fem. sing. came to represent abstract nouns on the analogy of Greek *-ia*, e.g. *ismiyya* 'nominality' (1.31 n 3),

ḥarfīyya 'property of being a *ḥarf*' (21.5), *māhiyya* 'quiddity' (from *mā* 'what'), see Beeston 36; Fleisch 89; Bateson 20; Yushmanov 38.

(5) Mu^cāwīya was the 5th Caliph of Islām, reigned 661-680. For Nu^cmān, pre-Islamic king and patron, see *E.I.* (1), art. 'al-Nu^cmān ibn al-Mundhir'.

(6) See 1.02 n 2 on Ibn Mālik; the reference here is to *Alf.* vv 72-3.

(7) S. 18 v 22; the (facetious?) comment is from al-Azharī, *Taṣr.* I, 114, and see *E.I.* (2), art. 'Aṣḥāb al-Kahf'.

11.722 (1) On 'generic', *jinsī* see 23.31 n 1. 'Mentally specific' is *mu^cayyan fī ḡ-dīhn*, lit. 'made specific in the mind' (cf. *ta^cyīn* in 11.72 n 2), i.e. treating a class of creatures as a specific individual. The phenomenon is well known, cf. English 'Willie Wagtail', 'Reynard the Fox', and see Goguyer's notes to *Qaṭr* 96 for examples from French, also Fleisch, *Tr.* #761. It would be interesting to know whether the Arabs would regard such singular nouns as *al-mu^ctazila* (the collective name for a school of hyper-rationalist theologians) or *al-qaḍariyya* (another group of theologians who denied free will) as generic proper names or as a variety of the personal proper name.

11.723 (1) 'Simple noun' is *mufraḍ*, q.v. 23.431 n 1; 'title' translates *laqab* (often rendered 'nickname', 'surname'); *kunya* 'nickname' (also 'by-name', 'sobriquet') strictly means an indirect, allusive name, mostly using the name of a son or daughter (and see next note). The 'Kūfans' (9.4 n 3) are said to have used *kunya* as their term for 'pronoun' (Ibn Hišām, *Ṣarḥ ṣuḡūr aḡ-ḡahab*, ed. A. G. ad-Daḡar, Damascus N.D. 174). See *E.I.* (2), 1st art. 'Ism' on personal names.

(2) These names are normally never translated (see *E.I.* (2), art. 'Abū Bakr' for the first Caliph, reigned 632-4) even when, as might be the case with the examples given here, the man or woman is named after a son or daughter, viz. Abu ^cAmr, Umm ^cAmr. A variety of these names is the type '*abū n-naẓẓāra* 'the man with glasses' (lit. 'father of spectacles'), '*abū ḡ-ḡibbān* 'the man with bad breath' (lit. 'father of flies' etc., where '*abū* is synonymous with *ḡū* 'possessor' (3.42). Except for the 'simple' name, these are formally 'annexed compounds', q.v. 3.65 n 7.

(3) The immediate source is al-Azharī, *Taṣr.* I, 120, referring to Fakr ad-Dīn ar-Rāzī, *Mafātīḥ al-ḡayb*, Istanbul 1889-90, I, 32. On ar-Rāzī (died 1209), 'one of the most celebrated theologians and exegetists of Islam', see *E.I.* (2), art. 'Fakhr al-Dīn al-Rāzī', *G.A.L.* I, 506. See 11.1 n 2 and 11.41 n 2 for the reasons why his name appears in three different forms in our text and footnotes, depending on the system of transliteration preferred.

11.73 (1) *Jum.* 27; *Muf.* #171; *Alf.* v 82; *Qaṭr* 99; Beeston 42; Fleisch 139; Bateson 41; Yushmanov 29; Nöldeke 48. It has two names in Arabic: *al-ism al-mubham* 'the vague noun' and *ism al-'iṣāra* lit. 'the noun of pointing' (translated in the text as 'demonstrative pronoun'). There is no demonstrative adjective in Arabic: though *hāḡā r-rajulu* may safely

be translated 'this man', *ar-rajulu* is regarded by the Arabs as being in apposition to the noun *hāqā* (cf. 14.12 n 1). Paradigm 11.737 n 2.

(2) See 9.3 n 1 on permutations. Fleisch remarks (142) that the hypothetical middle distance demonstrative is 'factice, simple fruit de la spéculation grammaticale'.

11.731 (1) As will be apparent, the demonstratives are a graveyard of archaic and obsolete forms (Fleischer, *Kl. Schr.* I, 348, claimed never to have seen *qā'i* and *qā'ihī*, but they are mentioned by al-Uṣmūnī on *Alf.* v 82). The masc. sing. has as its base the deictic element *q*, which is also to be seen in the word '*iq* 'lo!' (1.441 n 5), *qū* (3.42) and the relative *allaqī* (11.753), cf. Moscati #13.33.

(2) The Arabic has 'with vowelless *ā*', in other words, with the consonant '*alif* functioning only as a lengthening marker for *ā*, and not as the consonant ' (see 2.43 n 2). On spelling instructions cf. 3.44 n 2.

11.732 (1) Here also are remains of old deictic elements, showing a double contrast (a) between masc. *q* and fem. *t*, and (b) between masc. *a* and fem. *i* (which is also found in agent suffixes, cf. 7.54 n 1).

(2) The second being the *y* which functions as a lengthening marker for *ī* (cf. 2.43 n 2: *tī* = *tiy*). See Fischer, *Islamica* 3, 44 on fem. demon.

11.733 (1) i.e. *qāni* in indep. form, *qayni* in dep./obl. form, etc. (table in 11.737 n 2). The dual demonstratives are the only ones which inflect for case (cf. relatives, 11.753).

(2) The problem has already been aired in 3.65 (2), though it can hardly be doubted that *qāni* etc. (and the relatives *allaqāni* etc.) are indeed true dualizations. To be sure, demonstratives are by nature defined, but there is no objection to making proper names either fictionally (3.65 (4)) or formally (1.42) undefined, and there seems no reason why the same should not work for demonstratives. For the Arabs, however, these are more akin to *kilā* 'both' etc. (3.63) in being intrinsically dual.

11.734 (1) The deictic element here is clearly *l*, which has several other deictic functions in Arabic (e.g. def. art. *al*, 11.74; plur. '*ulū* of *qū* 'possessor', 3.412 (a); emphatic prefix *la*, 13.6 n 3). The '*u* of '*ulā'i*, '*ulā'ika* (and '*ulū*) is invariably pronounced short, though spelt as if long (in compensation for loss of the first *l* of an assumed original *'*ullay*, so Rabin, *Anc. West-Ar.* 153, but cf. Fleisch 247 n 23).

(2) These two symbolize the polarization of pre-Classical Arabic into Eastern (Tamīmī) and Western (Ḥijāzī) dialect groups (cf. Rabin, op. cit. 1). On the two varieties of *ā* see 3.89 n 2.

(3) S. 2 v 5; Rabin (loc. cit. n 1) suggests that the intervocalic ' (which is neither a Proto-Semitic nor a genuine Arabic dialect feature) arose to break up an otherwise doubly long syllable **āy>ā'i*.

11.735 (1) See 11.737 n 2 for full paradigm. '*Hā* of attracting attention' is lit. for *hā'* at-tanbīh, a deictic element which may occur

alone, e.g. *hā 'anā dā* 'it is I' (lit. 'look! I am that', cf. Fleisch 114), or as a suffix, e.g. *'ayyuhā* 'O!' (23.5 n 2); cf. also *hunā* etc., 18.212, *hāti* and *halumma*, 5.21 n 1.

(2) Note that these are sentences: 'this Zayd' would have to be *zaydun hādā*, with *hādā* in apposition to *zaydun*. With common nouns, however, the situation is different: *hādā r-rajulu* is 'this man', the sentence equivalent being *hādā huwa r-rajulu* 'this is the man' (cf. 9.81 n 2). Annexed phrases behave like proper nouns: *hādā baytuka* 'this is your house', *baytuka hādā* 'this house of yours'. Cf. Beeston 43.

11.736 (1) i.e. according to the view that there are only two orders of demonstratives, near and not near; 'particle *ka*' (*ḥarfiyya*) is meant to exclude *ka* as a pronoun suffix, but see n 3 below.

(2) The reasoning appears somewhat specious. In practice *dāka/dālika* etc. simply appear to be free variants.

(3) The deictic function of *k* is obvious: it is related to the object pronoun suffix set with *k* (16.303 etc.) and the prefix *ka* 'like' (1.708), cf. Fleisch 147, Brockelmann, *Grundr.* II, 389. By analogy with the object pronoun suffix, the *k* of *dālika* 'that' sometimes follows the number and gender of the person addressed, thus fem. sing. *dāliki*, dual *dālikumā*, masc. plur. *dālikum*, fem. plur. *dālikunna*. This is a Qur'anic speciality; cf. Muf. #561, Yushmanov 30.

11.737 (1) See 1.02 n 1 on Ibn Hišām, 3.45 n 3 on his *Commentary on the Lumḥa*. Here, however, aš-Širbīnī is actually paraphrasing al-Azharī, *Taṣr.* I, 129. 'Infix *l* or *ka*' is a very free translation of *al-lām wa-l-kāf* lit. 'letter *l* and letter *k*', with no mention of 'infix'.

(2) The most commonly occurring demonstratives are:

	'this'		'that'
masc. sing.	<i>hādā</i>	<i>dāka</i>	<i>dālika</i>
fem. sing.	<i>hādihi</i>	<i>tika</i>	<i>tilka</i>
masc. dual	<i>hādāni</i>	<i>dāni</i>	<i>dānnika</i>
fem. dual	<i>hātāni</i>	<i>tāni</i>	<i>tānnika</i>
comm. plur.	<i>hā'ulā'i</i>		<i>'ulā'ika</i>

Duals have dep./obl. case in *-ayni* (11.733).

(3) See 0.4 n 6.

11.74 (1) *Jum.* 27; *Muf.* ##262, 599; *Alf.* v 106; *Qaṭr* 114 (cf. *Muḡnī* I, 48); Beeston 37; Bateson 10; Yushmanov 33; *al* as noun marker 1.5; juncture features 11.1 n 2; assimilation of *l* 11.41 n 2; *al* on proper names 11.82 n 4.

(2) *Kitāb* II, 63 (see 0.1 n 1 on *al-Kalīl* and *Sībawayhi*). The def. art. is either quoted as an independent morpheme '*al*' or given the names *al-'alif wa-l-lām* '*a-l*' or *lām at-taCrīf* 'the defining *l*' (in *Kitāb* invariably *al-'alif wa-l-lām*). The dispute, which aš-Širbīnī reproduces from al-Azharī, *Taṣr.* I, 148, turns upon the question of whether the initial '*a*' (only realized as such when not in juncture, 11.1 n 2) is

part of the article or not, since in juncture it is absorbed by the previous word.

11.741 (1) Terms are: 'generic article' *lām al-jins* or *al-lām al-jinsiyya* (see 23.31 n 1 on *jins* 'genus'); 'factual article' *al-lām li-bayān al-ḥaqīqa* lit. 'l for expressing the fact'; 'article which embraces all individuals of the species' *al-lām li-ṣumūl 'afrād al-jins* (lit. translated), also called *lām al-istiḡrāq* 'l of total immersion' i.e. 'all-embracing'. On *kull* 'all' see 13.4.

(2) The two quotations here are S. 21 v 30 and S. 4 v 28 respectively: *kull* cannot replace *al* in *al-mā'i* 'water', but can in *al-'insānu* 'man'.

(3) Metaphorically *kullu rajulin* 'every man' is clearly hyperbolic, but still structurally correct. On 'metaphor' *majāz* see 13.3 n 1; on 'hyperbole', *mubālaḡa* cf. 9.81 n 4; on the dep. form *ḡilman* here see 20.6 n 2. Note that the two uses of the article shown here are subdivisions of Beeston's 'generalizing function' of *al* (37).

11.742 (1) Termed *lām al-ḥad*, and translated literally (= Beeston's 'particularizing function', 37). In this function the article reveals its deictic origins unmistakably (11.734 n 1).

(2) S. 73 v 16; initial element of *al* is replaced by the last vowel of *firḥawnu* in juncture (11.1 n 2), and *l* assimilates to *r* (11.41 n 2).

(3) S. 5 v 3; here the initial element of *al* has its full consonantal value 'r', but this is not noted in the transliteration because (at least in correct Arabic spelling) is never written, cf. 11.1 n 2.

11.75 (1) *Jum.* 27, 338; *Muf.* ##176, 262; *Alf.* v 88; *Qatr* 103; Beeston 43, 49; *Fleisch* 149, 194; *Bateson* 41, 47; *Yushmanov* 75; *Nöldeke* 97. 'Relative' for *mawṣūl* (lit. 'thing joined') is a compromise: the elements treated here are not relative pronouns (contra *Bateson*, *Yushmanov*) but simply join the relative clause to its antecedent (syntax, 11.753 n 3), and the translation 'relative' has been chosen to reflect this function. See further 11.752 n 1.

11.751 (1) 'Particle type' renders (*mawṣūl*) *ḥarfī*, lit. 'belonging to the particle family' (cf. 11.721 n 4 on the *ī* suffix of *ḥarfī*), so called because these elements (essentially the nominalizers 'an 'that', 5.41, and 'anna 'that', 10.42) are not nouns or pronouns. On 'relative clause', *ṣila*, and 'referential pronoun', *Ḥā'id*, see 11.752 n 1.

(2) S. 2 v 184, and cf. 9.02.

11.752 (1) 'Noun type' is (*mawṣūl*) *ismī*, lit. 'of the noun family'. Terminology of relatives is: *mawṣūl* 'relative' (11.75 n 1), i.e. the element which connects the relative clause to the antecedent (but see 11.753 n 3); *ṣila* 'relative clause' (lit. 'join, connection'); *Ḥā'id* 'referential pronoun', (lit. 'thing returning, going back'), which, as will be seen (11.753 n 3) is the true relative pronoun. Structurally the relative (*mawṣūl*) and its clause (*ṣila*) are indispensable to each other (cf. 9.71 for some incomplete examples). The translation 'who' for *allaḡī* etc. is quite arbitrary: see 11.75 n 1.

11.753 (1) Cf. 11.731-4 on the deictic elements *l*, *g*, *t* in these words; 1.51 for *al* 'the' as a relative; 11.1 n 2 for the juncture feature which they share with *al* 'the'.

(2) But they are not regarded as true duals, see 3.65 (2).

(3) Syntax of relatives. The relative (*mawṣūl*) concords with its antecedent in number, gender, definition and (where marked) case: with undefined antecedents the *mawṣūl*, being by nature defined, cannot occur. The relative clause (*ṣila*) is a normal sentence (nominal or verbal) in all respects but one: its topic is always a pronoun, viz. the referential pronoun (*Ca'id*) which stands for the antecedent. The *ṣila* remains the same whether the antecedent is defined or not, thus *ar-rajulu llaḡī marartu bihi* 'the man by whom I passed' (lit. 'the man-mawṣūl-I passed by him'), *rajulun marartu bihi* 'a man by whom I passed' (lit. 'a man-Ø-I passed by him'). General references 11.75 n 1.

(4) A masc. plur. *allaḡūna*, analogous to the indep. sound masc. plur. *ūna* (3.41) has been noted (Rabin, *Anc. West-Ar.* 89). In practice, however, only the following are regularly encountered:

	sing.	dual	plur.
masc.	<i>allaḡī</i>	<i>allaḡāni/ayni</i>	<i>allaḡīna</i>
fem.	<i>allatī</i>	<i>allatāni/ayni</i>	<i>allātī</i>

11.754 (1) Beeston 49; Fleisch 150; Bateson 42; Yushmanov 75; Nöldeke 103; other refs. 11.75 n 1. Interrogative *man* 5.87 n 2; conditional *man* 5.83. Spelling instruction (3.44 n 2) rules out *min* 'from', 1.701.

(2) S. 13 v 43; the relative clause (*ṣila*) here is an inverted nominal sentence, scil. 'with him is the knowledge...' (cf. 9.74), and the referential pronoun (*Ca'id*) is the *hu* 'him' suffixed to *Cinda* (18.207). Normally *man* is grammatically masc. sing. even when known to refer to fem. or plur. (so *man* 'uḡibbuhu 'the one(s) I love'), but the modern tendency is to use whichever pronoun is appropriate.

(3) 'Status' is *manzila*, originally a term for social standing, but applied by Sībawayhi to grammatical status as the correlative of *mawḡiC* 'function' (3.1 n 4), cf. Carter, *R.E.I.* 40, 84, also 23.2 n 1.

(4) S. 46 v 5; here the first *man* is interrogative (5.87 n 2), the second refers to a rational being (note assimilation **min man* > *mim-man*) and only the third illustrates the irrational being, viz. stones, trees and other false gods.

(5) S. 22 v 18; see further comment in 11.755 n 3.

11.755 (1) Refs. as for 11.754 n 1, and see 5.82 n 1, 5.84 n 1.

(2) S. 16 v 96.

(3) S. 62 v 1. In the verse quoted in the previous paragraph (S. 22 v 18) the pronoun *man* 'who' is allowed to subsume irrational beings both in heaven and earth (angels being considered inferior to men). Here the reverse is the case, for the pronoun *mā* 'what' is now allowed

to subsume rational beings (mankind) among the things praising God. Another relative which could be included here is 'ayyu 'whichever, whoever', cf. Fleisch 151; Bateson 42; Yushmanov 75; see also 5.86.

11.76 (1) *Jum.* 27; *Muf.* #262; *Alf.* v (53), 385; *Qaṭr* 117; Beeston 46; *Fleisch* 171; Bateson 10; Yushmanov 64; Nöldeke 29; Gätje, *Arabica* 17, esp. 231f. See further 26.7

(2) Annexation alone is not sufficient to define a noun, though it may confer a higher degree of specificity (*baytu rajulin* 'the house of a man' is technically undefined but still more specific than *baytun* 'a house', cf. 26.91). The definition status of certain annexation units still provokes discussion, particularly in the case of *kull* 'all' (v. 13.4 n 6) and the so-called 'elative' adjectives, q.v. 20.4 n 1.

(3) In the examples, *ḡulām* 'boy is annexed respectively to a pronoun (11.71), proper name (11.72), demonstrative (11.73), relative (11.75) and noun with def. art. (11.74). The slight deviation from the order of Ibn Ājurrūm's representation is accounted for by the fact that here aš-Širbīnī is following Ibn Hišām's order (probably via al-Azharī, *Taṣr.* I, 94).

11.761 (1) The principle underlying these observations (which stem either directly from *Qaṭr* 118 or indirectly from al-Azharī, *Taṣr.* I, 95) is that a qualified element must be at least as defined as its qualifier. Between definition and indefiniteness there is little difficulty: undefined elements can only be qualified by undefined elements (*rajulun qā'imun* 'a standing man' etc.), but defined elements may be qualified by both (undefined qualifiers generally in dependent form, see 19.5, 20.5). Since, however, definition is hierarchical, a problem arises when qualifier and qualified are both defined: this is seen clearly by comparing *zaydun ḥāḍā* 'this Zayd' with *ḥāḍā r-rajulu* 'this man' (11.735 n 2), where word order is determined by 'rank' (*rutba*, 11.711 n 2). The rule is apparently broken in such modernisms as *al-maliku fayṣalun* 'King Fayṣal' (cf. also Beeston 43).

11.77 (1) This continues the theme of the previous paragraph, but this time aš-Širbīnī seems to have lifted it from al-Azharī on Āj. 70. The criterion of qualificability is present in *Kitāb* I, 221f, and has become rather more organized by the time of al-Mubarrad (*Muqtaḍab* IV, 281). See also *Muf.* #147.

(2) The sixth category, the relative (11.75) is omitted from this scheme probably because it is not in aš-Širbīnī's immediate source (see previous note). It would have been elegant to include it here, since it fills the last space implied by the dichotomous classification, viz. 'qualifies but is never qualified adjectivally'. For 'qualify' in this context the notion *naḥt* is used, q.v. 11.0 n 1, which is thus seen to be somewhat wider in application than simple 'adjective'.

(3) Definition can be effected by the vocative structure (23.42), and perhaps also (though in a different way) by the categorical negative construction with *lā* 'no', q.v. ch. 22, esp. 22.11 n 1.

11.8 (1) *Jum.* 191; *Muf.* ##3, 262; *Alf.* v 52; *Qaṭr* 90; Beeston 37; *Fleisch* 153; *Bateson* 9; *Yushmanov* 34, 65; *Gätje, Arabica* 17, 235. For 'undefined' Arabic uses *nakira*, formally a noun meaning 'something unknown' (from which the denominative verb *nakkara* 'to make undefined' and its verbal noun *tankīr* 'making (or being) undefined'). Antonym is *maʿrifa*, lit. 'knowledge', hence 'something known' (also with its denominative *ʿarrafa* 'to make defined', noun *taʿrif* 'making (or being) defined'). It will be appreciated that definition/indefinition reside with the listener rather than the noun: when formally or functionally unmarked (e.g. *marartu bi-zaydin/bi-baytin* 'I passed by Zayd/by a house'), only the listener's knowledge distinguishes a proper name from a common noun. Students who have wasted time looking up proper names in dictionaries will understand this well. Cf. *Fleisch, Tr.* #76k.

(2) See 11.81 n 1 on 'convention' (*waqʿ*). Degrees of indefiniteness (cf. 11.711 n 1), on a purely semantic basis (viz. 'thing' is more undefined than 'body' and so on) appear for the first time in al-Mubarrad, *Muqtaḍab* III, 186, IV, 280.

(3) Names such as *ʿabdu šamsin* 'ʿAbd Šams' (= 'sun-worshipper') suggest that at one time there were defined common (?) nouns without *al*, though it cannot be inferred from this that the suffix *n* originally had defining function, cf. *Moscatti* #12.75, 77. Misleading, too, is the simple equation of *tanwīn* with the English indefinite article.

11.81 (1) Lexical meaning plays very little part in Arabic grammar (cf. 12.92 n 1): the meaning of a word is as arbitrary, and as conventional, as the sounds, forms and structures in which words manifest themselves. The same applies to the proper name, whose 'meaning' (apart from any residual lexical content) is the specific individual it refers to (11.72), with the additional feature that the speaker can create a proper name simply by assigning any word to that category, by the process of *waqʿ* lit. 'putting', see further 1.14 n 1.

11.82 (1) Aš-Šīrbīnī's concern for the perplexity of the beginner is no doubt genuine, but is expressed in the words of al-Azharī on *Āj.* 71. The reason for the obscurity is Ibn Ājurrūm's departure from the purely formal level of his presentation, to which he now returns.

(2) See 10.22 n 2 on the variation in medial vowel. Though somewhat uncomfortable in the context of 'proper names', 'proper' was chosen to translate *ṣaluḥa* because it conveys the necessary moral flavour of linguistic correctness: 'to be structurally correct' was originally expressed by *ḥasuna*, lit. 'to be (morally) good' (cf. *Carter, J.A.O.S.* 93, 148, also 12.91 n 8), and *ṣaluḥa* is merely a synonym thereof.

(3) 'Man', 'horse' and 'to strike' are the eternal examples in almost every Arabic grammar (including the *Kitāb*): that they are the same as the standard Greek examples is clear, but how did they find their way to the Arabs, and what else came with them? Try Versteegh 42.

(4) From this point of view there are three classes of proper name: those which never have the def. article, those which always do (e.g.

al-qāhiratu 'Cairo', *aš-širbīnī*), and those which sometimes do and sometimes do not have it, e.g. *nu^Cmānu*, *an-nu^Cmānu* 'Nu^Cmān', *ḥasanun*, *al-ḥasanu* 'Ḥasan'. The distribution of *al* in the last category appears to be entirely arbitrary (cf. *Muf.* #11, *Alf.* v 109). One thing is certain: proper names almost always take *al* when dualized or pluralized (cf. 3.65 n 8)

11.9 (1) Appositional nouns with an apparently adjectival function, e.g. *raju^{lun} ʿadluⁿ* 'a just man' lit. 'a man justice' (Fleisch 187) are not dealt with by *aš-širbīnī*, possibly because, being invariable (*rija^{lun} ʿadluⁿ* 'just men'), they are not true concordants (see 11.61 n 1 for the similarities between nouns and adjectives). A frequent appositional structure is the type *ṭawbuⁿ ḳazzuⁿ* 'a silk garment' lit. 'a garment silk', *al-ḳāṭamu l-ḥadīdu* 'the iron ring' lit. 'the ring the iron', cf. Fleisch 187, Fleischer, *Kl. Schr.* I, chs. 1, 2. See 26.72 for the synonymous annexation construction *ṭawbuⁿ ḳazzīn* 'a garment of silk' etc.

12.0 (1) *Jum.* 30; *Muf.* ##157, 538; *Alf.* v 540; *Qaṭr* 346; Beeston 97; also *M.U.S.J.* 48, 167; Fleisch 157 (188); Bateson 38; Yushmanov 62; Nöldeke 93. Terminology: *ʿaṭf* 'act of leaning towards, inclining', i.e. coordination, *ma^Cṭūf* 'thing coordinated', i.e. coordinated element, *ma^Cṭūf ʿalayh* 'thing to which coordinated', i.e. antecedent, *ḥarf ʿaṭf* 'particle of coordination' (cf. 3.84 n 3).

(2) 'Explanatory coordination' is *ʿaṭf bayān*, lit. 'coordination of making clear' (cf. *bayān*, 5.82 n 3, *tabyīn*, 20.0). See 14.51 n 1.

(3) 'Sequential coordination' is *ʿaṭf nasaq*, lit. 'coordination of arranging in order'. The term is absent from early grammar, and was perhaps introduced to resolve the ambiguity of *ʿaṭf* (and cf. 23.45 n 5).

(4) Cf. 1.11, 4.5 for the method of paraphrasing *nasaq* by the patient noun *mansūq*. The difference between *nasq* and *nasaq* (spelling instructions 3.44 n 2, and cf. 17.1 on verbal noun) is that *nasq* is only a verbal noun, while *nasaq* denotes the result of that action.

(5) 'Arabs' always means Beduins, cf. 1.21 n 1; 'conventionally denote' renders *waḳa^Cat*, lit. 'they (the Arabs) have assigned them', cf. *waḳ^C* in 11.81 n 1, and see further 12.92 n 1.

12.01 (1) See the discussion in 12.6. Spelling instructions (3.44 n 2) are to avoid confusion with *ʿammā* 'as for', q.v. 9.95 n 3.

(2) See 12.92 n 1 on *ma^Cānī* 'meanings'.

12.1 (1) *Jum.* 31; *Muf.* #539; *Alf.* v 543; *Qaṭr* 346 (*Muḡnī* II, 30); other refs. as in 12.0 n 1. For *wa* as a subordinating conjunction see 5.54, 5.55; *wa* with dep. nouns in the meaning of 'with', ch. 25; *wa* as a 'particle of swearing' with oblique nouns, 26.5; *wa* as a synonym of *rubba* with oblique nouns, 26.61; coordinating sentences, 12.93.

(2) There is some debate as to whether the coordinated element concords with the antecedent through a formal operator (*Ḍāmil lafẓī*), namely *wa* 'and' or an abstract operator (*Ḍāmil ma^Cnawī*), namely concordance as such (*tabḌiyya*): see further 1.31 n 4, 11.01 n 1.

(3) 'Logical predicament' is *ḥukm*, lit. 'verdict', a direct borrowing from logic (contrast *ḥukm* as a legal borrowing in 24.1 n 2). In spite of Versteegh 74 n 22, *ḥukm* is an early synonym of *qaḌiyya* in its purely logical meaning of *apophasis* (q.v. Versteegh 145), cf. Zimmermann, op. cit. 9.3 n 1, 536. See further 12.23 n 1.

(4) In *Inṣāf* prob. 64 the 'Kūfans' (9.4 n 3) argue that *wa* is redundant in S. 39 v 73: *ḥattā 'iqā jā'ūhā wa-futiḥat 'abwābuhā* 'until when they came to it (scil. Paradise) and its gates were opened', for no main verb appears here or in the rest of the verse. Is this a survival of the original deictic function of '*iqā*: 'until, lo and behold, they came to it and...'? Cf. 1.441 n 5.

12.11 (1) S. 57 v 26, inverting the historical order; the first *wa* (untranslated) is not in question here, as it only coordinates verses. 'Logically posterior/anterior is *muta'aḳḳir/mutaqaddim fī l-ḥukm* 'delayed/advanced in predicament', see 12.1 n 3 on *ḥukm*.

(2) S. 42 v 3. With rare exceptions (v. 12.94 n 2) nouns may not be coordinated with oblique pronouns, hence the repetition of '*ilā* here (v. 1.702 n 1 on '*ilay-*'). The verb *yūḥī* is Stem IV (8.63 n 1), root *w-ḥ-y*. The relative clause '*ilā llaḌīna min qablika* (which assumes an elided '*awḥā* 'he inspired') contains a predicate of the type set out in 9.74, i.e. a prepositional phrase dependent on a compulsorily deleted verb phrase or equivalent.

(3) S. 29 v 15; here the dep. noun '*aṣḥāba* may correctly be coordinated with the dep. pronoun suffix *hu*. This occurs only with overt pronouns: concealed pronouns must be externalized by apposition, e.g. *uskun 'anta wa-zawjuka* 'dwell thou and thy wife' (S. 2 v 35), with '*anta* repeating the concealed pronoun in *uskun* (cf. 11.713). 'Concomitant' is a lit. translation of *muṣāḥib*.

12.2 (1) *Jum.* 31; *Muf.* #540; *Alf.* v 545; *Qaṭr* 348 (*Muḡnī* I, 139); other refs. as in 12.0 n 1; *fa* as subordinating conjunction 5.54, 5.55. The translation 'and then' somewhat over-emphasizes the difference between *wa* and *fa*: both have, however, a much wider range of functions as sentence coordinators, cf. 12.93 n 1.

(2) 'Abstract ordering' is *tartīb ma^Cnawī* (see 2.1 n 2 on *ma^Cnawī*); cognate with *tartīb* 'ordering' are *rutba*, *martaba* 'rank' (11.711 n 2)

and *tarattaba* 'to follow from (apodosis from protasis)' in 5.811.

(3) S. 82 v 7; this time two verbs are coordinated (cf. 12.93).

12.21 (1) 'Narrative ordering' is *tartīb dīkrī*, lit. 'ordering by mention' (cf. *dīkrī* 'due to previous mention' in 11.742).

(2) S. 4 v 153. 'Coordination of detail to a general idea' is *ʿaṭf al-mufaṣṣil ʿalā mujmal*: *mufaṣṣil* is related to *faṣl* 'subsection, differentiation' (cf. 3.63), *mujmal* to *jumla* 'sentence' (19.6 n 1). See 20.42 n 2 on the comparative construction of *ʿakbara min ḡālika*.

12.22 (1) 'Immediate consequence' translates *taʿqīb*, lit. 'following on the heels of something'. Qualitatively *fa* differs from *wa* in that the latter is indifferent to the chronological order of events (12.11).

(2) S. 80 v 21. In his own commentary on this verse (IV, 466), aṣ-Širbīnī points out that the choice of *fa* here instead of the neutral *wa* stresses the immediacy of the burial and that the corpse was not left lying about!

(3) 'So-and-so' is *fulānun* (fem. *fulānatu*, 3.89 (4), and adj. *fulānī* 'belonging to So-and-so'. The connection suggested by Hitti, *History of the Arabs*, London 1967, 644 n 1, between *fulān* and Old French *poulains* is fortuitous: *fulān* occurs many centuries earlier (e.g. *Kitāb* II, and is probably composed of deictic elements (Fleisch, Tr. 118k). Note impersonal passive *wulida lahu*, lit. 'there was given birth for him', cf. 8.11 n 1.

12.23 (1) See 12.1 n 3 on *ḥukm* 'logical predicament'. The two possible 'predicaments' are assertion and negation (see 12.41 n 2 on these and related borrowings from logic). 'Assertion' is termed either *ʾiṭbāt* (lit. 'confirming') or *ʾijāb* (lit. 'necessitating, root w-j-b, cf. 21.1 n 4), and 'negation' is *nafy* (5.76 n 1) among grammarians, but *salb* (lit. 'dispossessing, snatching away') among logicians. There are complexities in the history of these terms (both *ʾiṭbāt* and *ʾijāb* are used apparently indiscriminately by Sibawayhi, cf. Troupeau, *Lexique-Index*), on which see Zimmermann, op. cit. 9.3 n 1, 532.

12.3 (1) *Jum.* 31; *Muf.* #540; *Alf.* v 545; *Qaṭr* 351 (*Muḡnī* I, 107); other refs. as in 12.0 n 1. The spelling instruction (3.44 n 2) is to avoid confusion with *ṭamma* 'there' (18.213). Yushmanov 62 makes the observation that *ṭumma* replaces *wa* 'and' when anything has to be coordinated with God, e.g. *ʾaṣḥadtu llāha ṭumma jamāʿatan min al-muslimīna* 'I call upon God and a number of Muslims as my witness'.

(2) 'Ordering and looseness of connection' is *tartīb wa-tarākī* (cf. 12.2 n 2 on *tartīb*); *tarākī* is lit. 'slackness, limpness', the term favoured by Ibn Hišām and aṣ-Širbīnī's immediate source, al-Azharī, on *ʾAj.* 73. Az-Zajjājī and az-Zamaḡsarī prefer *muhla* 'interval, delay' for this feature of *ṭumma*, while Ibn Mālik, in the *Alfiyya* at least, opposes *fa* and *ṭumma* by means of the antithetical terms *ittiṣāl* 'connection' and *infiṣāl* 'disconnection, separation'.

(3) S. 80, vv 21, 22, being the continuation of the verse quoted in 12.22. Here *ṭumma* coordinates the complex sentence '*iqā šā'a anšarahu*, in which '*iqā* 'when' has pseudo-conditional force (5.94), i.e. it does not mean 'when he wished, he resurrected him'.

12.4 (1) *Jum.* 31; *Muf.* ##541-544; *Alf.* v 551; *Qaṭr* 353 (*Muḡnī* I, 59); other refs. as in 12.0 n 1; 'aw as a subordinating conjunction 5.56. Some idea of the extent to which later grammar moved away from the strict structuralism of Sībawayhi can be gained from Ibn Hišām's statement (*Muḡnī* I, 59) that 'modern grammarians' distinguish no less than twelve functions for 'aw, viz. doubt (12.41), making vague (12.41), division (e.g. 'words are either nouns, verbs or particles'), option (the 'restricted choice' of 12.4 n 2), allowance (the 'free choice' of 12.4 n 3), unrestricted union (synonym of wa 'and', 12.1), digression (synonym of bal 'rather', 12.7), synonymous with 'illā, synonymous with 'ilā (see both in 5.56), approximation (e.g. 'I do not know whether he said hallo or goodbye'), condition (e.g. 'I shall beat him, whether he live or die') and finally partition (e.g. 'be ye Jews or Christians', S. 2 v 135). The translations and examples above are taken from Howell, #543.

(2) 'Restricted choice' is *taḡyīr* lit. only 'choice', but qualified here in order to contrast with the other type of choice involved. It is cognate with *iktīyāran* 'voluntarily', q.v. 7.5 n 2, 9.8 n 2.

(3) 'Free choice' is '*ibāḥa*, lit. 'permission, allowance', qualified by 'free' in the translation to fit the context. It is related to the legal term *mubāḥ* 'allowed', which is the neutral grade of legality between the opposite poles of *ḥarām* 'forbidden' and *farḍ* ('religious obligation', synonym *wājib* 'obligatory act, cf. 9.8 n 2).

12.41 (1) Cf. 5.54, 5.55, where *ṭalab* (here 'request') has been rendered 'demand'. The request is for confirmation of one of the two alternatives (cf. n 3 below).

(2) 'Predicative statement' is a literal translation of *al-kalām al-ḡabarī* (cf. 1.1 on *kalām* 'speech', 9.1 on *ḡabar* 'predicate'), but such classifications of sentence types are borrowings from logic and are not found in Sībawayhi. It contrasts with the *kalām 'inšā'ī* 'exclamatory statement' (lit. 'originative', Howell #1), i.e. commands, exclamations, entreaties etc. Several other classifications on the basis of meaning exist, on which see Versteegh 147, and contrast the simple formal opposition of 'nominal' and 'verbal' sentence, 9.24 n 2.

(3) S. 18 v 19, scil. 'we tarried a day, or was it part of a day?'.
 (4) S. 34 v 24. On '*innā*←'*innanā* see 10.55 n 3; on '*īyyākum* see 16.506; on emphatic prefix *la* see 13.6 n 3.

12.5 (1) *Jum.* 31, 32; *Muf.* ##541, 542; *Alf.* v 548; *Qaṭr* 355 (*Muḡnī* I, 39); other refs. as in 12.0 n 1.

(2) 'Relevant alternatives' is a free translation of *al-mansūbayni* lit. 'the two things attributed'; while this may be connected with *nisba* in

its grammatical sense of (genetic) relationship (cf. 11.721 n 4), it is just as likely that it here has the logical flavour of this term in its sense of predicative relationship. Cf. also 20.02 n 1.

(3) See 5.741 n 1 on interrogative 'a, and 12.51 n 6 on indirect questions. 'Specify' is *ta^cyīn*, the same as 'making specific' in the context of proper names (11.72).

12.51 (1) 'Conjunctive' is *muttaṣil* lit. 'continuous, uninterrupted' (cf. 21.1 n 5); the same root *w-ṣ-l* supplies the basic terminology of relative sentences, 11.752 n 1, and bound pronouns, 11.716 n 1.

(2) 'Interrogative 'a' is 'alif al-istifhām, q.v. 5.741 n 2; the 'equalising 'a' is 'alif at-taswiya, translated literally, also known as 'alif al-mu^cādala 'balancing 'a'.

(3) 'Equivalent in status' renders *fī maḥall*, lit. 'in the place of'. Elsewhere (5.81 n 3) it has been equated with *manzila* 'status' (23.2 n 1) rather than *mawḍi^c* 'function' (3.1 n 4), even though it may seem that 'functionally equivalent' is the obvious translation. The reason is that *maḥall* does not denote absolute replaceability as does *mawḍi^c*, but equivalence of function between elements of different form classes (see 5.84 n 4), particularly when the element concerned is a sentence (*jumla*, q.v. 19.6 n 1), as sentences cannot exhibit inflection and can therefore only be regarded as having the status of inflected elements.

(4) S. 36 v 10; note vowel harmony in suffix *-him* in *alayhim* (cf. 13.9 n 9) and past tense meaning of verb negated by *lam* (5.71).

(5) 'Neither can be dispensed with' renders *lā yustaḡnā bi-ʾaḥadihimā* *Can il-ʾākari* fairly literally: in its positive form the cognate term *mustaḡnī* denotes a self-sufficient utterance (e.g. *Kitāb* I, 202, 208, 347, 480), while the negative most often appears in the context of absent elements or features (e.g. 5.44, 13.7), but see 19.6 on the notion that elements can be indispensable to the complete utterance. This explains why this type of 'am is called 'conjunctive' (n 1 above).

(6) Arabic has no distinctive structure for indirect questions, though under foreign influence there is a tendency to transfer pronouns into reported speech forms (cf. indirect speech, 10.64 n 1). Thus 'I asked him whether he was going' is either *saʾaltuhu ʾa-ʾanta ḡāhibun*, with direct speech in the subordinate sentence ('are you going?') or *saʾaltuhu ʾa-huwa ḡāhibun*, with indirect speech form ('whether he was going'). The other interrogative pronouns (5.87 n 2) behave similarly.

12.52 (1) This is 'am *l-munḡaṭi^c*, lit. 'the severed 'am' (cf. 21.11 n 2), see below, n 4, on the reason for this name.

(2) See 19.6 n 1 on *jumla* 'sentence'; 'independent' is a literal translation of *mustaqill*, now most commonly encountered in political contexts. It will be noticed that aṣ-Ṣirbīnī has taken it for granted that the single nouns after this 'am will be construed as elliptical sentences (scil. *jāʾa zaydun ʾam jāʾa ʿamrun* 'Zayd came or ʿAmr came'), a rare failure to grasp an opportunity for *taqdīr* (q.v. 2.101 n 1).

(3) 'Retraction' is *'iḡrāb*, lit. 'turning away' (hence in modern Arabic 'striking' against employers, from root ḡ-r-b 'to strike').

(4) As the translations are meant to imply (by use of the comma after the first sentence), neither statement is essential to the utterance. Whether the second must always contain a retraction of the first is problematical: apart from tending to make both statements thereby indispensable to each other, it can surely be argued that this type of 'am sentence must fit somewhere into the many functions of 'aw 'or' listed in 12.4 n 1! Note that *bal* (12.7) replaces 'am in the paraphrase, however, and not 'aw.

12.6 (1) *Jum.* 31; *Muf.* ##541, 543, 544; *Alf.* v 553; *Qaṭr* 357, (*Muḡnī* I, 56); other refs. in 12.0 n 1. The spelling instructions (3.44 n 2) are to avoid confusion with *'ammā* 'as for', q.v. 9.95 n 3. There are two objections: however, if *'immā* is not a conjunction, what is it?). Cf. so often occurs with *wa* 'and' prefixed (as in the examples here), and second that prepositions must be repeated after it (by contrasting *wa-'immā bi-Ḥamrīn* here and *wa-Ḥamrīn* in 12.1 it is easy to grasp the objections: however, if *'immā* is not a conjunction, what is it?). Cf. also n 6 below.

(2) The only synonym which may follow *'immā* is 'aw 'or' (12.4).

(3) On Ibn Hišām see 1.02 n 1; Abū ḤAlī is Abū ḤAlī al-Fārisī, q.v. 10.71 n 1; Ibn Kaysān was a prominent pupil of al-Mubarrad (22.3 n 1) and of Ṭaḥlab, leaders of the 'Baṣrans' and 'Kūfans' respectively (cf. 9.4 n 3), and died in 911 or 932 (*G.A.L.* I, 111, *E.I.* (2), art. 'Ibn Kaysān'); Ibn Barhān was an eccentric, but highly respected teacher who died in 1064 (*G.A.L.* Suppl. I, 491).

(4) Here 'status' is *manzila*, q.v. 23.2 n 1 and contrast 12.51 n 3.

(5) See 12.4 on restricted and free choice, 12.41 on doubts.

(6) The 'former authorities' are Abū ḤAlī etc., mentioned above. For the reservations about *'immā* see n 1: to those may be added the fact that *'immā* always occurs in pairs, wherein the first *'immā* certainly is not a conjunction. The coordinating function has to be ascribed to the *wa* 'and' which invariably accompanies the second *'immā*.

12.7 (1) *Jum.* 31; *Muf.* #545; *Alf.* vv 550, 555; *Qaṭr* 356 (*Muḡnī* I, 103); other refs. in 12.0 n 1.

(2) 'Assertion' is *'iḡāb*, q.v. 12.23 n 1.

(3) See 12.1 n 3 on *ḥukm* 'logical predicament'. Note that 'qualified' here is *maṣṣūf*, the same term that is used for the antecedent of the adjective (11.0 n 1): the reason is that verbs are also analysed as adjectival qualifiers, usually of their agents (11.45 n 1), but here, interestingly, the verb phrases *qāma*, *ra'aytu* and *marartu bi-* are all construed as qualifiers, first (formally) of Zayd and then (through retraction) of ḤAmr. While this is obvious with *qāma*, it is perhaps worth emphasizing that for the other two the implied paraphrases are **zaydun bal Ḥamrun ra'aytuhu* 'Zayd, rather ḤAmr I saw', **zaydun bal*

Camrun marartu bihi 'Zayd, rather ^CAmr I passed by' respectively, in which the verb phrases are complex predicates of the type in 9.75

12.71 (1) See 5.76 n 1 on negation, *nafy*, in general.

(2) Further to 12.7 n 3: here again the verb phrases are analysed as adjectival qualifiers, scil. **zaydun bal Camrun mā ra'aytu* 'Zayd, rather ^CAmr I did not see' etc. The 'logical predicament' remains a choice between assertion and negation: it is not a matter of the meaning of the proposition but simply of whether the given predicate applies to the stated subject or not.

12.8 (1) *Jum.* 31; *Muf.* #545; *Alf.* vv 554, 555; *Qaṭr* 356 (*Muḡnī* I, 194); other refs. in 12.0 n 1; for *lā* negating verbs see 5.76; for *lā* negating nouns categorically see ch. 22.

(2) Though not a conjunction in the sense intended by aš-Širbīnī, the resumptive *lā* which is used as a repeater for previous negatives may as well be mentioned here. It repeats any of the various negative particles (5.76 n 1), always with *wa*, e.g. *mā qāma wa-lā takallama* 'he did not stand, nor speak', *lam yaqum wa-lā takallama* 'he has not stood nor spoken'. Cf. Cantarino, I, 107, Reckendorf, *Ar. Synt.* 338, Nöldeke 93.

12.81 (1) While an elided second verb need not be assumed here (**iḍrib zaydan lā taḍrib Camran*), there seems to be no choice with *mā ɟarabtu zaydan wa-lā Camran* 'I did not hit Zayd nor (did I hit) ^CAmr'.

(2) The translation 'the word ^Camrun' is necessary here because ^CAmr's name is quoted in the metalanguage with the indep. form as subject of 'is a concordant', rather than with dep. form as a concordant to *zaydan* (the alternative: '^Camran is a concordant to *zaydan*' is also possible, but it is not so close to the original).

12.9 (1) *Jum.* 31, 32; *Muf.* #545; *Alf.* vv 554, 555; *Qaṭr* 356 (*Muḡnī* I, 226); other refs. in 12.0 n 1. The spelling instruction (3.44 n 2) distinguishes *lākin* from *lākinna* (10.43): cf. 12.903 n 1 on the other 'light' (*kaḫīf*) or 'lightened' (*muḫaffaf*) alternants of *nn*, and see further 3.241 n 2.

(2) 'Be a single word' renders '*ifrād* lit. 'causing something to be *mufrad*, viz. single, singular, simple' (see 23.431 n 1 on *mufrad*).

(3) In *Inṣāf* prob. 68, the 'Kūfans' (9.4 n 3) argue somewhat speciously (and in the absence of evidence) that *lākin*, being a synonym of *bal* 'rather' (12.7), may be used after positive sentences, e.g. '*atānī zaydun lākin Camrun* 'Zayd, but rather ^CAmr, came to me'. The 'Baṣran' reply does not seem very positive, probably again through lack of evidence: they concede that *lākin* might occur in such a position but only (a) if the second element contradicts the first (i.e. if it falls into the category dealt with below in 12.903, where it is actually an allomorph of *lākinna*), or (b) if the first element is an error or oversight. But in the latter case, *bal* already exists for the correction of errors and oversights, and so (the Baṣrans claim), *lākin* is not needed in that function.

(4) After *wa*, *lākin* reverts to being an allomorph of *lākinna*, 12.903.

(5) See 5.76 on prohibition, *nahy*.

12.901 (1) See 19.6 n 1 on *jumla* 'sentence', and see below, n 4.

(2) *Schaw. Ind.* 90 (add *Muḡnī* I, 226; al-Azharī, *Taṣr.* II, 147).

Although attributed to the pre-Islamic poet Zuhayr (and included in his published poems), it seems that this verse is first quoted in a grammatical context by Ibn Hišām. Apart from the grammar of *lākin*, note: 'inna with dep. nouns (10.41); juncture in *ibna* (23.7 n 1); semi-declinable proper name *warqā'a* (3.89 (2) and (4)); passive of weak 3rd rad. verb *tukšā* (8.3 n 1 (b)); fem. sing. verb with broken plur. agent (7.22 n 1); broken plur. *bawādiru* (3.221); possessive suffix *hu* (4.72 n 2); preposition *fī* (26.25); juncture of *al* (11.1 n 2); passive of Stem VIII verb (8.68 n 1).

(3) Note that, since the noun precedes its verb, a nominal sentence (7.12) is created, with a complex predicate as in 9.75.

(4) 'Particle which introduces equational sentences' translates *ḥarf ibtidā'*: for *ḥarf* 'particle' see 1.25; *ibtidā'* is literally 'the act of starting an utterance with a noun', q.v. 9.12 n 2.

12.902 (1) The argument is that if the conjunction *wa* is already present the following element cannot also be a conjunction (cf. the case of 'immā, 12.6 n 1). See also n 3 below.

(2) S. 33 v 40. Note here the past tense form of *kāna* 'to be' in its 'timeless' meaning (cf. 5.52 n 2), scil. 'Muḥammad has never been...' (and see 10.11 on dep. form of predicate 'abā 'aḥadīn with *kāna* and related verbs). For 'abā, with long vowel inflection, see 3.61.

(3) 'As one single element to another' is *mufradin* *Ḥalā mufradin*, see 23.431 n 1 on *mufrad* 'single' etc. Note that 'single' refers to functional, not morphological singleness here: the annexation unit is formally composed of at least two elements, in the present instance 'abā 'aḥadīn and *rasūla llāhi*, but these are functionally equivalent to single nouns (26.91 n 1). However, even if the coordinated nouns in this verse had been single items, *lākin* would still not be a conjunction, as long as it has *wa* prefixed to it. In the absence of a better explanation, it is assumed that *lākin* here is an allomorph of *lākinna* (12.903).

12.903 (1) See 12.901 n 4 for the terminology, and id. n 3 for the equational (= nominal) sentence with verb phrase as predicate. In this function *lākin* is an allomorph of *lākinna* (10.43), and belongs to a set of 'light' and 'heavy' (12.9 n 1) doublets comprising 'inna/'in (10.41), 'anna/'an (10.42), ka'anna/ka'an (10.44) and *lākinna/lākin* (10.43). In each case (though by no means with equal distribution: 'light 'in' is both archaic and rare, for example), the 'light' form is neutralized and does not bring about dependent forms in the nouns following it, cf. *lākinna kālidan* in 10.43 and *lākin Ḥamrun* in this paragraph. *Muf.* #525; *Alf.* v 190; *Qaṭr* 156; *Fleisch* 199; *Bateson* 38; *Reckendorf, Ar. Synt.* 125, 129, 130.

12.91 (1) *Jum.* 30, 77; *Muf.* #540; *Alf.* v 547; *Qaṭr* 351; (*Muḡnī* I, 111); Beeston 98, 99; *Fleisch* 222; ḥattā as a subordinating conjunction 5.53; ḥattā as a preposition 26.31.

(2) 'Positions' is *mawāḍiʿ*, i.e. 'functions', q.v. 3.1 n 4.

(3) See 9.4 n 3 on 'Kūfans' and 'Baṣrans'. Surprisingly there is no trace of this dispute in the *Inṣāf*, where one would most expect to find it (though ḥattā as a subordinating conjunction is debated in prob. 83, cf. 5.53 n 2).

(4) It is this principle which requires that, for the Baṣrans at least (5.5), ḥattā may not operate directly upon a verb, but must operate by means of an assumed 'an 'that'; i.e. upon a noun phrase (cf. 5.53). For ḥattā as a preposition see 26.31.

(5) This condition is obscure and inapplicable, at least for modern Arabic: see Cantarino, II, 297. 'Et tu, Brute' is ḥattā 'anta yā brūṭus.

(6) 'Literally' is *taḥqīqan*, lit. 'by verification', related to *haqīqa* 'truth, fact', which normally has as its antonym *majāz* 'figure of speech, metaphor' (see 13.3 n 1). Here, however, it is opposed to *ta'wīlan* 'by paraphrase' (cf. the cognate *mu'awwal*, 9.02 n 1) in a distinction which is semantic rather than syntactic: the sandals are not part of the antecedent but only of what weighed upon the rider.

(7) *Schaw. Ind.* (add *Jum.* 81). As quoted by Sībawayhi (*Kitāb* I, 50) this verse has *naʿlihi* with obl. form (i.e. with ḥattā as preposition), though no reasons are given in the text or by the editors (Derenbourg also has *naʿlihi*). In fact Sībawayhi establishes that all three cases are possible with ḥattā: indep. *naʿluhu* as subject of a new sentence (with 'alqāhā as predicate as in 9.75), obl. *naʿlihi*, or dep. *naʿlahu* as preposed object of 'alqāhā and concurring by attraction with the dep. forms *zāda* etc. preceding. Sībawayhi's preference is clearly for the last, but he has to acknowledge that the obl. form is commonly met (and therefore is correct!), while he has reservations about the indep. form. The same three possibilities exist with 'akaltu *s-samakata* ḥattā *ra'sahā*: indep. *ra'suhā* as subject of new sentence, dep. *ra'sahā* as direct object coordinated with ḥattā, and obl. *ra'sihā* after prepositional ḥattā. In the last case, however, the meaning could be 'up to (but not including) its head'.

(8) The first grammatical criteria were ethical in origin, viz. *ḥasan* 'good' and *qabīḥ* 'bad', relating to structure, and *muṣtaqīm* 'right' and *muḥāl* 'wrong' relating to meaning (cf. Carter, *J.A.O.S.* 93, 147). With time, as grammar grew more prescriptive, these appear less often, and tend to be replaced with the simple opposition *yajūz* 'it is allowed': *lā yajūz* 'it is not allowed' (cf. 9.8 n 2). This is the only instance in this work of *ḥasuna* 'to be structurally correct' (though elsewhere we find the occasional synonym, e.g. 11.82, *ṣaḥaḥa*).

(9) He means neg. continuous exception (v. 21.2), i.e. *mā 'a^cjabatnī l-jāriyatu 'illā kalāmuhā* 'only what the girl said delighted me'.

12.911 (1) 'Limit' is *ḡāya*, cf. also the definition of *min*, 1.701, and cf. 21.01 n 1.

(2) 'Perceptible addition' is *ziyāda ḥissiyya*, 'abstract addition' is *ziyāda maʿnawiyya*; see 3.231 n 1 on *ziyāda* 'augment, increase' etc., and cf. 1.704 on *ḥissiyya*, 2.1 n 2 on *maʿnawiyya*.

(3) This sounds like one of the 'Traditions' of Muḥammad (1.01 n 4), but is not listed as such in Wensinck's *Concordance* (others of similar content and wording, I, 294). Read *miṭḡālī* with obl. form coordinated by *ḥattā* with *bi-l-ḥasanāti* (obl. sound fem. plur., q.v. 3.83).

(4) 'Perceptible decrease' is *naqṣ ḥissī*, 'abstract decrease' is *naqṣ maʿnawī*, cf. n 2 above; *naqṣ* 'decrease' is morphological in 3.221, and cf. *nāqiṣ* 'structurally defective', 9.71 n 2.

12.912 (1) 'Gradation' is *tadrīj*, 'making something proceed step by step', hence to be distinguished from *tartīb* 'ordering', 12.2 n 2.

(2) 'Absolute conjunction' is *muṭlaq al-jamʿ*: see 11.717 n 3 on *muṭlaq* 'absolute'. Here *jamʿ*, lit. 'gathering, uniting' is a synonym of *ḥaṭf* (q.v. 12.0 n 1), but it is also the normal term for 'plural' (3.23 n 1).

(3) See *E.I.* (2), art. 'Ibn al-Ḥāḍij', *G.A.L.* I, 303, on this most famous grammarian, who was active mainly in Damascus and Cairo and died in 1239. Ibn Hišām (1.02 n 1) relies heavily upon him. Here the reference is to Ibn al-Ḥāḍij's *Kāfiya* (countless editions, try Istanbul [1964], with commentary of al-Jāmī, 405): aṣ-Ṣirbīnī has evidently added Ibn al-Ḥāḍij's name to what he has adapted from *Qaṭr* 352.

(4) This Tradition (1.01 n 4) is in Wensinck, *Concordance* IV, 137, but reads *bi-qadarin*, omitting *qaḍāʾin* (cf. *Qaṭr* 353, Goguyer's note 4). Since predestination consists of God's actions, these can hardly be arranged in any order (especially grammatically or logically, unless by God himself, cf. 12.11). Cf. religious scruples in 5.751 n 1.

12.92 (1) Once again let it be stressed that meaning is not lexical (cf. 11.81 n 1). Examine the lists of 'meanings' (*maʿānī*, also rendered 'senses') in 1.701-709, 10.51-55 and those of the conjunctions in this chapter, and it should be clear that all are expressed in the form of verbal nouns, in other words, as kinds of linguistic acts. Look, also, at the contents list of any Arabic grammar: it is a series of verbal nouns, in the same way that the contents list of an Islamic law text-book is a series of verbal nouns (praying, washing, marrying, giving evidence etc. etc.) and for the same reason, namely, that the purpose of both disciplines is to regulate human behaviour. Only seldom is meaning expressed by synonym ('and' in the meaning of 'with', ch. 25) or paraphrase (ch. 18 *passim*), which is known to lead to infinite regression (*Kitāb* II, 312).

(2) In passing we note that coordination does not usually occur when nouns are qualified by more than one adjective, e.g. *rajuḷun ṣāliḥun ṣādiqun* 'a good, honest man'. However, coordination is obligatory in the situation where the adjectives qualify only part of the antecedent

viz. with dual and plur. nouns in the construction *al-luġatāni l-^Carabiyyatu wa-l-inglizziyyatu* 'the Arabic (sing.) and English (sing.) languages (dual)'; cf. Cantarino, II, 52.

12.93 (1) Coordination of sentences proper (e.g. *yaqūmu zaydun wa-yaq^Cudu*, where the second verb is a complete sentence) is not dealt with by aš-Širbīnī. In fact the conjunctions *wa* and *fa* may express almost any logical relationship between propositions according to context, e.g. 'while' (q.v. 19.9 n 1), 'but', 'because', 'although' etc., cf. Beeston 89, 97; Fleisch (216 n 2).

(2) The verb here is *qis* 'make an analogy!', imperative of *qāsa*, and cognate with *qiyās* 'analogy', q.v. 8.3 n 2.

12.94 (1) The complete concord of the adjective (11.02) reflects its ability to stand alone, without antecedent (11.61), with which it is, therefore, semantically and syntactically identical (this is true even for predicative adjectives: *ar-rajulu qā'imun* 'the man is standing' implies **ar-rajulu rajulun qā'imun* 'the man is a standing man'). But coordinated elements share only the function of their antecedent and (though not necessarily, cf. 12.7-9) its logical predicament.

(2) Coordination of nouns with pronouns is frowned upon, however, (cf. *Inṣāf*, prob. 65; *Muf.* #158; *Alf.* v 557). Nöldeke 93 n 3 has a good example: *ʿanhu wa-ʿislāmihi* 'about him and his Muslim faith'.

12.95 (1) There exists one type of compulsory coordination, viz. between agents of verbs denoting reciprocal action, e.g. *ištaraka zaydun wa-ʿamrun* 'Zayd and ʿAmr worked together', see 25.23 n 2.

13.0 (1) *Jum.* 33; *Muf.* #132; *Alf.* v 520; *Qaṭr* 333; Fleisch 188; Nöldeke 47. Terminology: *tawkid* or *ta'kid* (also *tākīd*), 'emphasizing, corroboration', *al-muwakkid* or *al-mu'akkid* 'emphasizer, corroborating element', *al-muwakkad* or *al-mu'akkad* 'thing emphasized or corroborated' (translated 'antecedent'). The triad of function—active element—passive element is particularly obvious here (cf. 3.84 n 3). The same vocabulary is used for the emphasizing function of *'inna* 'verily' (10.41, 51) and the emphatic elements *la* and *anna* (13.6 n 3). On the alternation of *w* and *'* see Cantineau, *Études* 78, 178, Vollers, op. cit. 3.96 n 2, 43; for *a'* to *ā* Cantineau 77, *E.I.* (2), art. 'Hamza'. Like most grammarians, aš-Širbīnī is inconsistent, preferring *'akkada* as the verbal form but *tawkid*, *muwakkid* etc. for the nominal forms.

13.1 (1) This formulation stems from Ibn al-Ḥājjib, op. cit. 12.912 n 3,

219, whence aš-širbīnī may have it directly, or perhaps through Ibn Hišām, op. cit. 11.723 n 1, 550.

(2) 'Relationship' is *nisba*, originally 'genetic relationship' (cf. 11.721 n 4) but here in its logical sense (q.v. 20.02 n 1). 'Scope' is *šumūl*, lit. 'act of embracing, comprehending', cf. 14.3 n 1. On the relevance of both terms to corroboration see further 13.3. Note the dichotomous classification here (1.2 n 2), and see 2.1 n 2 on 'formal', *lafẓī* and 'abstract', *maʿnawī*.

13.11 (1) 'Identically' is *bi-ʿaynihi* 'by or through itself': this can be construed as a kind of abstract corroboration with 'ayn (13.31), with an underlying structure **yuʿādu l-matbūʿu bi-l-matbūʿi bi-ʿaynihi* 'the antecedent (*matbūʿ* 'that which is followed', cf. 11.01 n 1) is repeated by the antecedent itself'. 'By a synonym' is *bi-muwāfiqihi maʿnan* 'by what agrees with it as to meaning' (*maʿnan* is a 'specifying element', *tamyīz*, q.v. ch. 20).

(2) *Schaw. Ind.* 52: this verse is cited more often as an illustration of elided verbs than of corroboration, viz. the verb which has to be assumed in order to account for the dep. form of the first 'aḳāka (cf. 16.311 n 1). On the anomalous *lā 'aḳā lahu* cf. 4.72 n 1. Note that the relative clause *man lā 'aḳā lahu* 'he who has no brother' (v. 11.754) has dep. status as the subject noun of 'inna (10.41), and that *sāʿin*, made obl. by *ka* (1.708) is of the type *qāḍin*, 4.2 m 2.

(3) A kind of corroboration not dealt with by aš-širbīnī is 'itbāʿ, lit. 'causing to follow' (cognate with *tābiʿ*, 11.01 n 1), in which a word is repeated but with a different (and meaningless) initial letter, e.g. *ḥasan basan* 'beautiful, beautiful'; see Pellat, *Arabica* 4, 131.

13.12 (1) *Schaw. Ind.* 124; anonymous and apparently not quoted before Ibn Hišām (e.g. *Qaṭr* 334), banal and suspiciously expedient, this verse nevertheless shows interesting juncture features in the last two words: graphically they are 'iḥbisi 'iḥbisi, morphologically ḥbis ḥbis and phonologically ḥbisi ḥbisi. The reasons are as follows:

- (a) both are masc. sing. imperatives (5.2), i.e. the imperfect tense minus 2nd person prefix *ta* and mood suffix *u* (*taḥbisu > ḥbis*),
- (b) in context the non-canonical initial consonant cluster (2.5 n 3) is resolved by taking the final vowel of the previous word (*lāḥiqūna ḥbis*). If the previous word does not end in a vowel the glide vowel *i* is automatically supplied (*ḥbisi ḥbis*), cf. 11.1 n 2,
- (c) in utterance initial position the cluster is resolved by prefixing an arbitrary 'i (sometimes 'u, 5.2. n 3) which, for historical reasons, is notated 'i, i.e. the consonant 'alif (2.43 n 2). This 'alif remains even when the word is not in utterance initial position, but is marked in juncture with a sign indicating that it is to be ignored,
- (d) the final *i* of the second *ḥbisi* is merely the rhyming vowel, q.v. 5.88 n 4, and is to be pronounced long.

It is clear from the above that syllable and word boundaries need not be the same: the last three words of this verse are syllabically *lā-ḥi-qū-naḥ-bi-siḥ-bi-si*. Note also that *an-naǰā'u* shows both the

juncture feature of the def. art. *al* (11.1 n 2) and assimilation to the first consonant of the following word (11.41 n 2).

(2) 'Evidence' is *šāhid*, lit. 'witness', a reminder of the legal influence on Arabic grammar (Carter, *R.E.T.* 40, 84); an evidentiary verse is a *šāhida* 'fem. witness', plur. *šawāhid*.

13.13 (1) *Schaw. Ind.* 79. The lady Buṭayna is called Baṭna in the verse, but is universally known by the former name, which is the diminutive of the latter (3.421 n 1). See *E.I.* (2), art. 'Djamīl'. The following grammatical points should be noted: *lā* 'no, not' is called a 'particle of response' (*ḥarf jawāb*) by aš-Šīrbīnī (from al-Azharī, *Taṣr.* II, 129), presumably because the verse is an answer to a question, but thereby an inconsistency is created, for while the first *lā* may well mean 'no' the second can only mean 'not', i.e. is in quite a different function. Yāsīn (on *Taṣr.* ad loc.) evades the issue by taking *lā lā*... to mean 'not, not...' as an answer! The name Baṭna is semi-declinable, q.v. 3.89 (4), and so should *mawāṭiqan* have also been (3.89 (1)), but has *tanwīn* here by poetic licence (7.5 n 2), to create a long syllable for metrical purposes. For *Calayya* see 3.421 n 3, and cf. 14.2 n 2.

13.14 (1) S. 89 v 21; on *kallā* 'nay' cf. 1.21 n 3.

(2) S. 89 v 22 (continuing the verse cited above). The eschatological tableau which follows is found in all the standard commentaries (among them aš-Šīrbīnī's own, IV 513), also in *Qaṭr.* 335.

(3) It is as well to point out that the dependent elements in the three examples do not all have the same grammatical status: the first *dakkan* 'crushing' is an 'absolute object' of *dukkat* 'is crushed' (see 17.53 n 2, 17.71 n 1), and as for the second we may accept the interpretation of aš-Šīrbīnī or not; *šaffan šaffan* 'rank upon rank' and *bāban bāban* 'chapter by chapter' are certainly not rhetorical repetition, but 'circumstantial qualifiers' of their antecedents (see ch. 19, esp. 19.33), both being necessary for the sake of the meaning.

(4) Corroboration by synonym occurs with pronouns, e.g. *ḍarabanī 'anā* 'he hit me', contrast *ḍarabanī huwa* 'he hit me', cf. 11.717 n 4. To this type would also belong such combinations as *naḥnu l-muslimūna* 'we Muslims' (Beeston 43, n 1).

13.2 (1) The spelling instructions (3.44 n 2) serve to distinguish the agent from the patient noun (cf. 10.34 n 1); only one *k* is written, the doubling being marked diacritically with the sign called *šadda* 'tying together' (see further 24.23 n 2), hence it suffices in the spelling instructions to say *al-kāf* 'the *k*' (contrast 10.42-44 etc., where the doubling is phonemic).

(2) The second comment would not have been necessary if the first had not gratuitously implied that undefined elements could be corroborated, but this comes from following al-Azharī, *Āj.* 76 too closely. As may be expected, the 'Kūfans' (9.4 n 3) assert that corroboration of undefined nouns is possible (*Inṣāf*, prob. 63), this time with a

considerable body of evidence. It is limited, however, to expressions of time and place, e.g. *qa^Cadtu yawman kullahu* 'I sat a whole day'; cf. Reckendorf, *Ar. Synt.* 167 for further examples.

13.3 (1) *li-rar^Ci l-majāzi ^Can iq-dāti*, lit. 'for lifting the metaphor from the entity'; see 20.01 n 2 on *qāt* 'essence, entity'. 'Metaphor' is *majāz*, lit. 'going across' (scil. from literal, *ḥaqīqī*, to figurative), but see 13.31 n 4. *Majāz* still needs to be further investigated: in *Muqtaḍab* it often means 'grammatical process'.

(2) See 1.21 n 1 on 'Arabs'.

13.31 (1) In fact, these are the only two in category (a); *nafs* also means 'soul', while *^Cayn* has many meanings ranging from 'eye' to 'spring', see further 13.9, also 20.13 n 2 for fem. gender.

(2) For the other possibility, that *nafs* and *^Cayn* might themselves be taken literally when corroborating concealed pronouns, see 13.9. Note the variant *bi-^Caynihi* in 13.11 n 1, another example 22.43.

(3) Possibly there is also a historical reason, that *^Cayn* came into use when *nafs* was felt to have lost some of its force (something like the strengthening of 'same' by 'self' to give 'self-same'). 'Comprehensive term' is *jumla*, a word which in grammar most often means 'sentence' (cf. 19.6 n 1), but originally meant only a gathering or collection (hence also 'totality').

(4) 'Metaphorical' is *musta^Cār*, from *isti^Cāra* 'metaphor', lit. 'borrowing', impossible to distinguish in translation from *majāz*, used already above, though they are not strictly synonymous in rhetoric: *majāz* is broader than *isti^Cāra* and embraces all figurative language (cf. al-Jurjānī, op. cit. 10.53 n 1, 379, 428, *E.I.* (2), 'Isti^Cāra').

(5) 'Plural of paucity' is a literal translation of *jam^C al-qilla*, cf. 3.221 n 2. The patterns in which this plural allegedly occurs are *fi^Clatun*, '*af^Cālun*', '*af^Culun*' and '*af^Cilatun*', but there is a great deal of inconsistency in their use (even grammarians waver between *ḥurūf* and '*aḥruf*' as plurals of *ḥarf*). Not many nouns actually have more than one plural pattern, though *^Cayn* gives a good idea of the range of possibilities: as 'self' it has the plur. '*a^Cyun*', as 'eye' it has the plural *^Cuyūn*, plur. of paucity '*a^Cyān*', while as 'dignitary' it has '*a^Cyān*' for its plural. To complicate matters further, *^Cayn* also appears here as the regular name for the second radical of a word (see 3.45 n 1)!

(6) 'Impure speech' is *ḡayr al-'afṣaḥ*, lit. 'not the most eloquent', from *faṣīḥ* 'eloquent, speaking clearly and correctly', the linguistic ideal of the Arabs, after which Classical Arabic is named *al-luḡa l-fuṣḥā* 'the most pure language'. It contrasts with *al-luḡa l-^Cāmma* 'the general, ordinary language'. Cf. Beeston 11, Bateson 77, Yushmanov 4.

(7) The translations reproduce the errors of the Arabic, and perhaps serve to remind us that similar forms occur in spoken English (e.g. 'hissself', 'theirselves' etc.). Why plurals of *nafs* and *^Cayn* must be

used when the antecedent is dual is not clear: the problem was noted very early (e.g. *Kitāb* II, 201), as the construction occurs in the Qur'ān, e.g. S. 66 v 4 etc. (try *G.L.E.C.S.* 3, 15, 26).

13.32 (1) For convenience *nafsu-* and *ʿaynu-* are quoted here in the forms ready to receive the pronoun suffixes, though the Arabic has *an-nafsu*, *al-ʿaynu*. Whether this is the 'generic article' (11.741) or the 'article of familiarity' (11.742) is an open question.

(2) Obligatory pronoun suffixation is one of the features which distinguish the corroborative from the substitute (14.12). See 4.72 n 1 for table of suffixed pronouns, and further 13.9.

13.4 (1) *Jum.* 33; *Muf.* #137; *Alf.* v 522; *Qaṭr* 337 (*Muḡnī* I, 164); *Fleisch* 153, 188; *Nöldeke* 33. 'Intended particularity in something of ostensibly general meaning' is a literal translation of *ʿirādatu l-kuṣūṣi bi-mā ṣāhiruhu ʿumūmun*: as the examples will show, this definition assumes that *kull* corroborates elements bearing the generic article or equivalent (see 11.741), but see below, n 6, for *kull* in annexation to undefined elements.

(2) For which see 13.43.

(3) 'By its own operator' is literally *bi-ʿāmilihi* (v. 2.11 n 1): the question is, does this refer to the preceding verb or to the human agent? Since the speaker is the ultimate operator on all the elements of his discourse, there is every possibility that *ʿāmil* here denotes the human agent (cf. *Carter J.A.O.S.* 93, 151 n 46, also 8.2 n 2).

(4) See 20.01 n 2 on *ḡāt* 'essence'; there are acute metalinguistic problems here (cf. 12.81 n 2), as we either have to take *zayḍun* as the name of the agent (and thus say 'his own operator') or as an element quoted in the metalanguage (thus 'its own operator'). In the light of note 3, both are possible.

(5) S. 2 v 19; Arabic, like English, relies on common sense here!

(6) In addition to its corroborative function *kull* may be annexed to nouns and pronouns in all positions in the meaning of 'each, every, all', as follows:

- | | | | |
|------------------|-----------------------|------------------|-------------------------------|
| (a) undef. sing. | <i>kullu yawmin</i> | 'every day' | ----- |
| | <i>kullu rajulin</i> | 'each man' | ----- |
| (b) def. sing. | <i>kullu l-yawmi</i> | 'the whole day' | <i>kulluhu</i> 'all of it' |
| | <i>kullu l-qawmi</i> | 'all the people' | <i>kulluhum</i> 'all of them' |
| (c) def. plur. | <i>kullu r-rijāli</i> | 'all the men' | <i>kulluhum</i> 'all of them' |

There is no pronominalization of (a); *kullahu* in 13.2 n 2 is a special case equivalent to *kulla l-yawmi* (cf. 11.718 n 2). Both (b) and (c) are grammatically defined, which is usually only apparent in relative sentences (*kullu l-qawmi llaḡīna marartu bihim* 'all the people by whom I passed') and in their ability to stand as subjects. Type (a) is formally undefined but occasionally appears to be defined (so *Nöldeke* 33, and cf. *Reckendorf, Ar. Synt.* 155). Compare superlative, 20.42 n 3.

13.41 (1) 'ajma^Cu should not be here (v. 13.6), but aš-Širbīnī is following ad-Azharī, *Taṣr.* II, 122. See 5.86 n 3 on *rabṭ*, 'link'.

13.42 (1) S. 2 v 29; the translation reproduces the orthodox parsing of this verse, i.e. with *jamī^Can* as a circumstantial qualifier (q.v. ch. 19), albeit with emphatic function (*tawkid*!). Cf. also 24.51.

(2) 13.4.

(3) 'Revelation' is *tanzīl* 'causing to come down'. The reference is to *Muḡnī* II, 111, though taken directly from al-Azharī, *Taṣr.* II, 122. On Ibn Hišām see 1.02 n 1; *Muḡnī l-labīb* ('All the intelligent man needs') treats particles and difficult words alphabetically, followed by two extremely important sections dealing with problems of syntax and elision: the whole work awaits a proper evaluation.

13.43 (1) 'All two' is certainly less elegant than 'both', but was chosen to reflect an assumed etymological connection between *kilā* and *kull* 'all' (so Reckendorf, *Synt. Verh.* 141: however, *kilā* is also said to have the root *k-l-*, Fleischer, *Kl. Schr.* I, 665, Reckendorf, *Ar. Synt.* 157 n 4, and any link with *k-l-l* must be prehistoric); 'Kūfans' (*Inṣāf* prob. 62) derive *kilā* from *kull*. Syntactically *kilā* is highly restricted (unlike *kull*), occurring only in annexation (there is no point in positing a base form **kilāni*, as Reckendorf, *Ar. Synt.* 158, Moscati #14.2), and it does not always inflect for case.

(2) Cf. 3.63, 13.7. By asserting that the predicate must be the same aš-Širbīnī obscures the fact that the subjects or agents need not be: *māta zaydun wa-ʿamrun kilāhumā* 'Zayd and ʿAmr both died', *zaydun wa-ʿamrun kilāhumā qā'imāni* 'Zayd and ʿAmr both are standing'. In *hāqā li-zaydin wa-ʿamrin kilayhimā* 'this belongs to both Zayd and ʿAmr', the predicate is the same in that it can be paraphrased by the single term *la-humā* 'belongs to them both'.

13.44 (1) Heterogeneous forms are involved here: masc. sing. 'ajma^Cu is semi-declinable, adj. pattern 'af^Calu (3.89 (10)), so is fem. sing. jam^Cā'u, adj. pattern fa^Clā'u (ibid.); dual jam^C is simply a noun (in other contexts used for 'plural', 3.23 n 1), masc. plur. 'ajma^Cūna is regular (3.411, as 'afḍalūna), while the fem. plur. juma^Cu is unaccountably semi-declinable, as if being treated as a proper name (3.89 (8), and cf. *Qaṭr* 339 n 3, Fleisch, *Tr.* #55k).

(2) As 'plural' is jam^C, the text reads jam^Cu 'ajma^Ca 'ajma^Cūna for 'the plur. of 'ajma^Cu is 'ajma^Cūna' and jam^Cu jam^Cā'a juma^Cu for 'the plur. of jam^Cā'u is juma^Cu', a good specimen of the metalanguage for practice!

13.45 (1) 'Subsidiaries' renders *tawābi^C* 'followers' (also used for 'concordants', q.v. 11.0 n 1).

(2) The etymologies, though accurate, are not very helpful (cf. Reckendorf, *Synt. Verh.* 151 n 1), and are taken directly from al-Azharī *Āj.* 77.

(3) The spelling instructions (3.44 n 2) are to avoid confusion of *ṣ* and *ḍ*: the former is *muḥmal* 'undotted', lit. 'neglected' (cf. 5.431 n 3), while 'dotted' is expressed by *mu^Cjam*, lit. 'made to look foreign', same root as '*i^Cjām* in 2.0 n 1.

13.5 (1) See 3.0 n 2 on '*aṣl* 'normal', lit. 'base, root, stock'.

(2) This is the end of the chapter as far as Ibn Ājurrūm is concerned; aṣ-Širbīnī ploughs on. largely with the help of al-Azharī, *Taṣr.* II, 124, 126. The opportunity will be taken to give a few miscellaneous pointers. Other examples of *kull* annexed to nouns (i.e. not as a corroborative): 9.94, 11.61, 12.912, 17.64, 18.32, 21.61, 25.27; *kull*, *al-kull* used alone ('the whole'): 14.11, 14.2. *Nafs*, non-corroborative 9.91; note that *nafs* when annexed to nouns corresponds to 'same', e.g. *marartu bi-nafsi r-rajuli* 'I passed by the same man', *ra'aytu nafsa r-rijāli* 'I saw the same men'. The same structure with *ḡayr* (21.4) gives 'not the same as, other', e.g. *marartu bi-ḡayri r-rajuli* 'I passed by someone other than the man' (v. 21.42 n 1).

13.6 (1) Cf. 13.41 n 1. It happens that '*ajma^{Cu}* etc. belong to a set of patterns which, as well as being semi-declinable, are somewhat ambiguous as to definition (see 3.89 n 12). Without claiming that they are, in fact, defined, we suggest that they are defined enough to be able to occur in apposition to defined elements without a suffixed pronoun. Support for this view comes from the dual *jam^{Cu}uhumā*: *jam^{Cu}un* is the only member of the set which is fully declinable, and it alone also has the pronoun suffix (masc. plur. '*ajma^{Cu}ūna* has all the syntactic features of its semi-declinable sing.). An alternative line is to oppose the '*ajma^{Cu}* set (defined, and marked for number, gender and case) to the *kull*, *nafs* and *jamī^C* set (undefined, marked for case but only partially for number, rest supplied by suffix pronouns).

(2) S. 15 v 30.

(3) S. 15 v 39. Note the emphatic prefix *la*, called *lām at-tawkid* (cf. 13.0 n 1 on *tawkid*), which is often found on verbs bearing the emphatic suffix *anna* (q.v. 26.34 n 2), and is also prefixed subjects (*la-zaydun munṭaliqun* 'Zayd is going away', predicates (see next note) and regularly to the apodosis of *law* conditions (5.811 n 1, e.g. *law ḡāma la-qumtu* 'if he had stood I would have stood'). *Muf.* ##600-605; *Alf.* v 181; Beeston 103; Fleisch 109, 143.

(4) S. 15 v 43; note that the predicate is introduced by the prefix *la* (see n 3 above), hence termed *lām al-ḡabar* 'predicative *la*' (cf. Fleisch 169), which is related to the *l* which appears with deictic function in various demonstrations and pronominal elements, 11.734 n 1.

13.7 (1) See 3.63 and 3.65 (7) for the substance of this debate, which is here reported in the words of al-Azharī, *Taṣr.* II, 124. There, we learn, the '*Kūfans*' (9.4 n 3) allow the strictly analogical duals of '*ajma^{Cu}* and *jam^{Cā}u*, viz. '*ajma^{Cā}ni* and *jam^{Cā}wāni* respectively (note intervocalic '>>w, cf. 3.62 n 2). See 13.44 for the 'orthodox' dual *jam^C*.

(2) The spelling instructions (3.44 n 2) serve to distinguish *ṣayyūn* from *ṣay'un* 'thing' and *sawā'un* from *siwan* 'other than' (21.02 (c)). The objections to *sawā'āni* are possibly more orthographical than phonological: suffixing *ā* to *ā'* produces three consecutive 'alifs (cf. 2.43 n 2) and, even when reduced to two by an arbitrary spelling device, still leaves two together, and that is something which the language will hardly tolerate.

13.8 (1) Coordination of attributive adjectives by means of conjunctions is by no means so common with undefined nouns (cf. 12.92 n 2), but they are in any case excluded from the present topic. It must be admitted that the basis of the argument here, that adjectives need not be synonymous and corroboratives always are, seems rather weak. A series of synonymous adjectives can be coordinated just as easily. See also n 3 below.

(2) This, too, is not a feature peculiar to corroboratives: the noun and its adjectives(s) have been recognized from the first as being functionally equivalent to a single element (*ism wāḥid* 'one noun', cf. *Kitāb* I, 210, 351, 393).

(3) The Sprachgefühl is sound but the reasoning could be stronger. In particular the example of the adjectives is unconvincing, as the same string can qualify *Zayd* without coordination (*ja'a zaydun il-^Cālīmu ṣ-ṣāliḥu l-wari^Cu*). The answer lies in the difference of function between adjectives and corroboratives: each successive adjective is a further qualification of its noun, and all adjectives have equal status, while any additional corroboratives only reinforce the first corroborative, to which they are in apposition and without which they cannot appear (hence 'subsidiaries', 13.45, and cf. 13.31 n 3 for *nafs ^Cayn*).

(4) See 11.6 on *qaṭ^C* 'suspension of concordance'; corroboratives are in this respect closer to substitutes (*badal*), q.v. ch. 14.

13.9 (1) These are all agent pronouns (q.v. ch. 7 passim); dep. and obl. bound pronouns are discussed at the end of the paragraph.

(2) The other corroboratives are not affected by this condition because, in the Arab view, they retain their literal meanings even in corroboration (cf. n 8 below). An alternative explanation might be that *nafs* only developed its corroborative function as a reinforcement of the free pronoun that had already come to be used to repeat (for emphasis, 11.717 n 4) concealed agent pronouns and others.

(3) Random though this mixture of past tense and imperative examples may seem, it follows exactly the list in al-Azharī, *Taṣr.* II, 126, and seems to have been chosen so as to avoid 3rd person sing. verbs, whose 'concealed agent' (cf. 11.714 n 3) causes the problem about to be discussed. But the solution is the same, viz. *ḵarajat hiya ^Caynuhā* 'she herself went out', with *hiya* 'she' externalizing the concealed agent.

(4) The text has *karāhata 'ihāmi l-fā^Ciliyyati ^Cinda stitāri ḍ-damīri l-mu'annaṭi*, lit. 'out of reluctance for suggesting agency with concealment of the fem. pronoun', taking *istitār* 'concealment' from

al-Azharī, *Taṣr.* II, 126 in preference to both MSS 'isnād' 'predication'. It would also be possible to read *karāhata nbihāmi* 'out of reluctance for vagueness', following al-Azharī, *ibid.*

(5) More literally 'her eye went out', cf. 13.31 n 1.

(6) See 11.711, 11.761 on the hierarchy of defined elements. 'More strongly defined' is 'aqwā ... bi-l-'a^Crafiyya: 'aqwā is comparative of qawī 'strong', cf. 11.711 n 2, and 'a^Crafiyya is an abstract noun formed from 'a^Crafu 'more defined', cf. 11.721 n 4 (as is fā^Ciliyya 'quality of being an agent', a line or two higher, from fā^Cil 'agent').

(7) Are concealed pronoun agents more frequent than visible pronoun agents? If so, this may explain why pronoun agents must always be corroborated with free pronouns, contrast dep. and obl. pronouns, which are always visible and can therefore be corroborated with *nafs* etc.

(8) Unlike *nafs*, *kull* is always literal, hence may stand as agent in its own right (*qāma kulluhum*, sing. verb, 7.22 n 1) or in apposition to a pronoun agent as here, cf. *yaqūmāni z-zaydāni*, 7.03 n 3.

(9) Observe the vowel harmony affecting suffixes *hu*, *humā*, *hum*, *hunna* after *i*, *ī* (=iy, 2.43 n 2) or *ay*, thus *minhu* 'from him' but *fīhi* 'in him'; Beeston 40; Yushmanov 28. Other types of vowel harmony: 5.2 n 3; 19.72 n 4; 22.43 n 1.

13.91 (1) A kind of hyperbolic corroboration occurs with *kull*, viz. 'anta r-rajulu kullu r-rajuli, 'you are the man, all the man', i.e. 'you are all man!', cf. Nöldeke 47 (esp. Spitaler n 1), Reckendorf, *Ar. Synt.* 153. We also find 'ayy 'what' (5.86) in this construction, e.g. wa-lākinⁿahu ṣa^Cbun 'ayy ṣa^Cbin, 'but it is difficult, what a difficult thing', i.e. 'it is very difficult' (Cantarino I, 156, where ṣa^Cab must be corrected to ṣa^Cb). Contrast 'anta r-rajulu ḥilman 'you are the man for knowledge' in 20.6 n 2 and jā'a r-rajulu waḥdahu 'the man came by himself' (v. 19.51 n 5), neither of which are corroboration constructions.

14.0 (1) *Jum.* 35; *Muf.* #150; *Alf.* v 565; *Qaṭr* 358. Terminology: *badal* lit. 'act of substituting' (originally legal, e.g. exchange of good merchandise for bad); *mubdal minhu* 'thing for which another has been substituted', i.e. antecedent' *mubdal* 'thing substituted', i.e. the substitute itself (sometimes also called *badal*).

(2) See 9.4 n 3 on 'Baṣrans' and 'Kūfans', 26.01 n 3 on al-Aḳfaṣ,

12.6 n 3 on Ibn Kaysān. The 'Kūfan' terms are seldom seen outside this particular context: they are 'interpretation' *tarjuma*, lit. 'translation', 'clarification' *tabyīn*, lit. 'making clear', and 'repetition' *takrīr*.

(3) See 1.1 n 2 on *luġatan* 'lexically' and *iṣṭilāḥan* 'technically'. 'Replacement' is *ʿiwaḍ*, also a legal term with the narrower meaning of 'compensation', cf. 1.44. 'Intended to follow...the same grammatical rule' renders *al-maqṣūdu bi-l-ḥukmi*, lit. 'intended by the *ḥukm*', in which *ḥukm* could mean either 'logical predicament' (v. 12.1 n 3) or 'grammatical rule' (q.v. 24.1 n 2), the latter clearly being the sense intended by aṣ-Ṣīrībīnī, although other commentators (e.g. Ibn ʿAqīl on *Alf.* v 565) paraphrase *ḥukm* by *nisba* (q.v. 20.02 n 1). We are guided by Ibn Yaʿīš on *Muf.* #150: *al-badalu ṭānin yuqaddaru fī mawḍiʿi l-ʿawwali* 'the substitute is a second (element) estimated to be in the place of the first' (cf. *taqdīr*, 2.101 n 1, *mawḍiʿ*, 3.1 n 4).

14.01 (1) 'Inflections' is *ʿiʿrāb*, cf. 11.02 n 1; substitutes do not necessarily concord in number, gender or definition, which makes them different from the other concordants (see 14.12 n 1).

(2) By subdividing the fourth kind into three, q.v. 14.4.

14.1 (1) Lit. 'substitution of the thing for the thing', *badal aṣ-ṣayʾ min aṣ-ṣayʾ*, see further 14.11.

(2) S. 78 vv 31, 32; Palmer's translation has been used. It will be observed that this is not the only occasion when the substitution straddles two consecutive verses of the *Qurʾān* (cf. 14.11 n 2, 14.34 n 3, 14.6 n 2), and the chapter as a whole savours more of rhetoric than syntax. Commentators do not always agree over this verse: it can be regarded as partial (14.2) or inclusive (14.3) substitution, or even explanatory apposition (14.51 n 1)! Note inversion with undefined subject *mafāzan* (9.73 n 1) but still operated on by *inna* (10.41); *ḥadāʾiqa* is a semi-declinable broken plur. (3.89 (1)).

14.11 (1) 'Substitution of a whole for a whole' is literal for *badal kull min kull*: see 14.52 n 2 on *kull* with and without the def. article.

(2) S. 14 vv 1, 2, *allāhi* being the first word of v 2. For this reason it is also explained by the commentators as having indep. form (*allāhu*) through suspension of concordance (*qaṭʿ*, cf. 11.6 n 1) as predicate of an understood *huwa* 'he (is)', or even as the subject of the following predicative clause, scil. 'God is he to whom belongs that which is in the heavens etc.' (cf. aṣ-Ṣīrībīnī's Commentary, II, 160). The prepositional phrase *ʿilā ʾširāʾi* etc. is in turn explained as a substitute for a previous prepositional phrase, *ʿilā n-nūri* '(out of darkness) into the light'.

(3) Note the theological intrusion into grammar (cf. 5.751 n 1). In the present instance aṣ-Ṣīrībīnī is reproducing the orthodox doctrine of *tanzīh* 'stripping away', i.e. the belief that God has no physical human attributes (here quoting from al-Azharī, *Taṣr.* II, 156).

14.12 (1) The substitute here differs both formally and functionally from the corroboratives *nafs*, *ʿayn* (13.31) and *kull* (13.4); *ʾajmaʿ*, which corroborates without a pronoun suffix (13.6) is a special case. See further 14.21, 14.34 for the types of substitute which must carry a pronoun linking them to their antecedent. The demonstrative pronouns and their nouns stand in the relationship of identical substitution: *zaydun hāḍā* 'this Zayd' (lit. 'Zayd, this one'), *hāḍā r-rajulu* 'this man' (lit. 'this one, the man', cf. 11.735 n 2).

14.2 (1) Lit. 'substitution of the some for the all', *badal al-baʿḍ min al-kull*. See 17.65 on *baʿḍ* 'some', 13.4 on *kull* 'all'; note that *kull* and *baʿḍ* are here prefixed with the def. article (contrast 14.11), a practice which is disapproved of in 14.52. In fact it is not at all uncommon for *kull* to occur without article, even in places where it functions as subject of a sentence, e.g. S. 8 v 54, *kullun kānū ḡālimīna* 'all were wrongdoers' (in apposition to 'Pharaoh's people'), a usage which is still current (Cantarino, loc. cit. 14.52 n 2).

(2) S. 3 v 97. Points to note: *lī* 'for' (1.709) and *ʿalā* 'on, against' (1.704) are used antithetically in the idiomatic sense of 'to be in credit' and 'to be in debt', e.g. *lī ʿalayka dirhamun* 'you owe me a dirham', *laka ʿalayya dirhamun* 'I owe you a dirham' (note inversion with undefined subjects, 9.73 n 1); that *man istaṭāʿa* is a noun phrase (cf. 11.754) is neatly demonstrated here by its substitution for the noun *an-nāsi*.

14.21 (1) Except for *niṣfun* 'half', fractions have the pattern *fuʿl* (cf. 10.37 n 1), e.g. *ṭulṭun* 'a third', *rubʿun* 'a quarter', up to *ʿuṣrun* 'a tenth'. In *ṭulṭayhi* (= *ṭulṭayni* + *hu*) observe loss of *ni* in annexation (26.93 n 1) and vowel harmony with *hi* (13.9 n 9).

(2) A referential pronoun (*ʿāʾid*, 11.752 n 1) is needed because the partial substitute is not identical with its antecedent (contrast 14.12): in *ṭulṭahu* etc. the visible pronoun *hu* does the job, but in *man istaṭāʿa* 'whoever is able' (14.2) the reference is vague and *minhum* has to be assumed. Note that 'linking' is expressed by *yarbuṭa*, a verb cognate with *rābiṭ* 'link', cf. 5.86 n 3, 14.34.

14.3 (1) 'Inclusive substitution' is *badal al-iṣṭimāl*, lit. 'substitution of comprehensiveness or comprehending', cf. *ṣumūl* 'scope, extent' in 13.1, from the same root. See further 14.33 n 1.

(2) S. 2 v 194; note juncture features in def. article, q.v. 11.1 n 2, 11.41 n 2; vowel harmony in *fīhi* (**fī-hu*), 13.9 n 9.

14.31 (1) This is not a dispute which figures in the wrangles between 'Baṣrans' and 'Kūfans' collected in *Inṣāf*. It may have started in the time of al-Mubarrad (d. 898), who is among the first to deal in these subdivisions of the *badal* (cf. *Muḡtaḍab* I, 27, IV, 297, and note that al-Astarābāḍī, op. cit. 1.23 n 1, I, 314, connects al-Mubarrad with this problem). See further 14.33 n 1.

(2) 'Quality' is *ṣifa*, elsewhere translated 'adjective' (cf. 11.0 n 1). While it is certain that this term was used by philosophers (especially

theologians, Versteegh 71 n 6, 74 n 22) for 'quality' = 'predicate', it does not follow that its occurrence in the earliest grammar is due to borrowing. Rundgren's unsubstantiated assertion (op. cit. 1.01 n 2, 143) 'the adjective is called *ṣifa* by Sībawayhi, a term which strikes one as somewhat philosophical', proves nothing.

(3) It would, of course, be allowable as a case of 'substitution of error' (14.4). 'Impossible' is weaker than the original Arabic, which has *mamnū*^C 'prohibited': in aṣ-Širbīnī's source, al-Azharī, *Taṣr.* II, 157, it is clear that it is the grammarians, by this stage heavily normative, who 'forbid' such usages on logical grounds (cf. 12.91 n 8).

14.32 (1) The argument seems to be that Zayd is included in the second element by pronominalization; see further 14.33 n 3.

14.33 (1) With 'whose operator comprehensively includes the meaning of the substitute' we are in the world of semantics: the connection between the two elements is variously described as *iltibās*, *mulābasa* (both approx. synonymous, 'implication, involvement') *iḥāṭa* 'encompassment', as well as *iṣtimāl* (cf. *Muqtaḍab*, loc. cit. 14.31 n 1). Compare the relationship between elements coordinated by *ḥattā* 'even' (12.91, 12.911) and the conditions for continuous exception, 21.2.

(2) See 13.3 n 1 on *majāz* 'metaphor', 12.91 n 6 on *ḥaqīqa* 'truth' (i.e. literal usage). The rhetorical aspects of this construction are well summarized by al-Astarābādī, loc. cit. 14.31 n 1: 'it is a condition of inclusive substitution that it should convey no specific information through the first element, but the mind, with the mention of the first element, should remain in anticipation of an explanation, because of the very comprehensiveness of the first element'.

(3) 'To steal', *saraqa*, is not commonly doubly transitive (Reckendorf, *Ar. Synt.* 76; double transitivity 16.310 n 1), hence the example is somewhat tendentious. Even so, passivization normally only requires the transfer of one object into the agent function (8.2, and see 8.0 n 5), viz. *suriqa zayḍun ṭawbahu* or *farasahu*, and the argument here seems specious. This is especially obvious if we compare the active equivalent *saraqtu zayḍan ṭawbahu* 'I robbed Zayd of his garment', where there is scarcely any possibility of confusing the second direct object with any kind of substitution.

14.34 (1) 14.3. Contrast identical substitution, which requires no referential pronoun (14.12). 'Inclusive substitute' for *qitālin* is not meant to imply that it includes *aṣ-ṣahri*, but merely that the type of substitution is 'inclusive'.

(2) 'Link' is *rābiṭ*, cf. 5.86 n 3.

(3) S. 85 vv 4, 5. Since *'uḵdūd* is here used in a (hitherto) unexplained sense (v. *E.I.* (2), art. 'Aṣḥāb al-Uḵdūd'), it might seem that *an-nāri* is a case of explanatory coordination (*Ḥaṭf bayān*, q.v. 14.51 n 1), but the commentators all agree that it is inclusive substitution. The verb in this verse is formally past tense passive (ch. 8), but has optative value (*duḥā* 'call, prayer', cf. 5.55 n 3); other common

examples are *raḥimahu llāhu* 'may God have mercy on him', 'aṭāla llāhu *baqā'ahu* 'may God prolong his life' (cf. also 7.02, 17.7 n 4). It is negated by *lā*, e.g. *lā kāna* 'may it never be' (cf. 10.18 n 5). *Muf.* #478, 547; Reckendorf, *Ar. Synt.* 11, 43.

14.4 (1) These are respectively 'idrāb lit. 'turning away' (cf. 12.52 n 3), ḡalaṭ 'mistake' and nisyān 'forgetting'. Sībawayhi was not so hairsplitting, recognizing basically two kinds of substitution, one of which corresponds to types 1-3, and the other to types 4-6, called simply *badal al-ḡalaṭ* (cf. *Kitāb* I, 218). This is in keeping with Sībawayhi's descriptive approach and shows that, for him at least, the language was still spoken (v. 5.432 n 1), while for al-Mubarrad (d. 898, 22.3 n 1) it was necessary to point out that these substitutes never occur in the Qur'ān, poetry and all right speech' (*Muqtaḍab* IV, 297, see 1.13 n 1 on 'right'). See further n 6 below.

(2) 'Substitution of second thoughts' is *badal badā'*, lit. 'of a new idea which presents itself to the mind' (*badā'* is cognate with *ibtidā'* 'making a start', i.e. of an equational sentence, 9.12 n 2).

(3) This helpful comment is taken from Ibn Hišām via al-Azharī, *Taṣr.* II, 159 (it is also in *Āj.* 78): what he means is that substitution here takes place in reverse, and the first element is the *mubdal* (normally second) and the second is the *mubdal minhu* (normally first), see further 14.54 n 2. It hardly seems likely that this was Sībawayhi's original intention!

(4) The error is of some consequence, as a dinar is worth about twenty times as much as a dirham (cf. Jeffrey, op. cit. 3.89 n 5, 129, 133 on the foreign origin of these words, also *E.I.* (2), s.v.).

(5) 'Intention, purpose' etc. are variously denoted by the roots *qaṣada* 'to aim for' (cf. *maḡsūd*, 14.0 n 3, 23.42 n 1), *nawā* 'to intend' (cf. *niyya*, 5.44 n 3) and 'arāda 'to will'. It is clear that here, and in some other homologous constructions (notably the suspension of adjectival concordance for reasons of praise or blame, 11.6), only the motive of the speaker can distinguish them.

(6) This explanation is from Qaṭr 351, and was prompted by Ibn Hišām's concern that the pupil would have difficulty with the three types of substitution of error! It would be better, too, if they were not paraded in Western grammars of Arabic, e.g. Wright II, 286, Reckendorf, *Ar. Synt.* 65 n 2. Al-Astarābādī, loc. cit. 14.31 n 1, mentions that poets may deliberately use this construction for effect, rather as in *hindun najmun badrun šamsun* 'Hind is a star, moon, sun'.

14.51 (1) This adds nothing to what has been said already, so here is an outline of a construction not dealt with by aš-Širbīnī, namely explanatory coordination (*Caṭf bayān*, cf. 12.0): it is formally identical with substitution of a thing for an identical thing (14.1), and only differs (a) in its purpose (cf. 14.4 n 5), and (b) in that the second element must always be more specific than the first, e.g. *jā'a 'aḡūka zaydun* 'your brother Zayd came', (there is only one Zayd but

there may be more than one brother: contrast *jā'a zaydun 'akūka* 'Zayd, your brother, came', where 'your brother' does not make Zayd any more specific). *Muf.* #155-6; *Alf.* v 534; *Qaṭr* 342; Reckendorf, *Ar. Synt.* 65.

(2) *Alf.* v 566; *al-badal al-muṭābiq*, lit. 'which fits exactly over'.

14.52 (1) See 8.21 n 1 on '*i*^C*rāb*, here 'parsing'.

(2) Cf. 14.11 n 1. Whether there is a difference between collective *al-kull* and distributive *kull* (so Cantarino, II, 124) is arguable, especially in regard to *kullun kānū ṣālimīna*, q.v. 14.2 n 1. Cf. also 1.441 n 3; Reckendorf, *Synt. Verh.* 140.

14.53 (1) This segmentation is adequate for the present purpose, but for practice consider the possible further levels: *nafa*^C*anī* comprises the discontinuous morphemes *n-f-C*, root meaning 'benefit' and *a-a* for the past tense active (cf. 5.1 n 2); after the third radical is the purely lexical item *a*, associated with the 3rd sing. past tense, with which a concealed agent pronoun also has to be assumed (7.58 n 1); *nī* is the direct object suffix *ī* with the 'preserving *n*' (16.301); *zaydun* and *ʿilmuhu* likewise consist of the discontinuous morphemes *z-y-d* and *C-l-m*, and *a-Ø*, *i-Ø* for noun pattern respectively (10.37 n 1), both with independence marker *u* (3.21), *zaydun* with nominal marker *n* (not necessarily indefiniteness marker, cf. 1.41, 11.8), *ʿilmuhu* with 3rd sing. possessive pronoun suffix *hu* (4.72 n 2).

14.54 (1) See 11.1 n 2 on the juncture feature of the def. article *al*, which appears as *l* in context (but see 11.41 n 2) and *al* in isolation.

(2) Surface structure and deep structure are here in open conflict: in terms of the former there can be no doubt that *al-farasa* is substituted for *zaydan*, and this is certainly how Sībawayhi understood the process. On the other hand, from the point of view of deep structure, *zaydun* has intruded into the intended statement *ra'aytu l-farasa*, hence it can be said, as here (reproducing Ibn Hišām, see 14.4 n 3), that *zaydan* has been substituted for *al-farasa*.

14.6 (1) There are several candidates for this name, but the most likely is Abū-l-Qāsim aš-Šāṭibī, best known as an authority upon the Qur'ān, and reputedly one of the masters of Ibn al-Ḥāǧib (12.912 n 3). Aš-Šāṭibī died in 1194; *G.A.L.* I, 409 and Suppl. (note that his name is given as al-Qāsim only, not Abū l-Qāsim, by as-Suyūṭī, *Buḡyat al-wuṣṭā*, ed. Cairo 1965, II, 260). See also 14.63 n 2.

(2) S. 25 vv 68, 69; if *yuḍā*^C*af* had had indep. form (*yuḍā*^C*afu*) this would have made a new or relative clause, 'its/whose punishment will be doubled on Judgement Day' (**yuḍā*^C*afu lahu l-ʿaḍābu yawma l-qiyāmati*), but the apocopated 'Reading' (21.21 n 2) *yuḍā*^C*af* precludes this.

14.61 (1) This is neither from the Qur'ān nor the 'Traditions' (1.01 n 4), and falls under the same suspicion as other specimens produced by aš-Šāṭibī (see 14.63 n 1). For the apoc. forms here see 3.92 for *tuṣalli* (weak 3rd radical), 4.82 n 2 for *tasjud* and *yarḥam*.

14.62 (1) *Schaw. Ind.* 147; for metrical reasons (cf. 5.88 n 4) the final a of *tubāyi^ca* is written and pronounced long, but has been left short in transcription so as not to obscure its function as marker of dependence after 'an (5.41). Other grammatical points to note: 'inna (10.41) has the verb phrases 'an *tubāyi^ca* etc. (cf. 9.02 n 2) as its inverted subject and *Calayya* (see 14.2 n 2) as its inverted predicate; on *allāha* as a free-standing oath see Fischer, *Islam* 28, 9; for the verbal noun *karhan* as circumstantial qualifier see 19.33 n 1.

14.63 (1) The examples here and in 14.61 hardly ring true, and there can be little doubt that they are pedagogical inventions, hence the reservations expressed by aš-Šayk Kālīd (q.v. n 3).

(2) This whole extract from aš-Šāṭibī has been taken from al-Azharī, *Āj.* 79, rather than from *Taṣr.* II, 161, which lacks the final remark.

(3) Here (and once more in 21.35) aš-Širbīnī reveals the name of his principal source, aš-Šayk Kālīd al-Azharī, died 1499 (*G.A.L.* II, 278 and Suppl.). His *Taṣrīḥ* was written after a conversation in a dream with Ibn Hišām (I, 3), while his *Ājurrūmiyya* commentary was composed especially for 'young people and children' (6). He was also a great source for aš-Šabbān.

14.7 (1) Cf. 9.3 n 1 on the practice of computing total combinations. Even Western scholars seem unable to avoid the temptation now and then, cf. Yushmanov 33, and 4.82 n 2. The particular calculation (from al-Azharī, *Āj.* 79) is of little practical value, and even slightly misleading in the matter of substitution of pronouns: while there are apparently no restrictions on substituting pronoun for pronoun (e.g. *ra'aytuka 'iyyāka* 'I saw you, you'), the 1st and 2nd sing. pronouns are not found as antecedents of an overt noun substitute (contrast *ra'aytuhu zaydan* 'I saw him, Zayd', *'antum hā'ulā'i* 'you, these ones'). The occurrence of pronouns as substitutes for overt nouns seems even more restricted, with only 3rd sing. examples being offered (*ra'aytu zaydan 'iyyāhu* 'I saw Zayd, him', see *Muf.* #154, Reckendorf, *Ar. Synt.* 70). This is all distinct from corroboration, 13.14 n 4.

(2) Unlike adjectives (ch. 11) and corroboratives (ch. 13).

(3) The grounds of permissibility (*jawāz*) and impossibility (*imtinā^c*) are no longer based on descriptive criteria, cf. 14.31 n 3.

14.8 (1) Some items apparently having the indep. morpheme *u* are dealt with elsewhere, e.g. indeclinable elements (18.41), vocatives (23.41, 23.42), and cf. 22.2 for problems with nouns negated by *lā* 'no'.

15.0 (1) *al-manşūbat*, lit. 'those things which have been made dependent', sound fem. plur. (cf. 3.231 n 2), and see 3.5 n 1 on *naşb*, 'dependence'. In the Arab view, this dependence is caused by a verbal operator (cf. 2.1, 2.11) or an element with the status of a verb (cf. 10.401).

(2) See 5.4 et seq. for dependent verbs and their operators.

(3) Items 15.12-15 have been treated in chs. 10-14; summarized 25.61.

15.01 (1) *al-maf^Cūl bih*, lit. 'that which it is done to', see ch. 16, esp. 16.1.

(2) See 3.52 n 3 on convention of quoting verbs in their 3rd masc. sing. past tense forms: this is especially noticeable when 'hollow verbs' (10.23 n 2) are mentioned, as in several paragraphs below.

15.02 (1) *al-maşdar*, lit. 'the source, origin', see ch. 17, esp. 17.1 n 2. The other name for this element is *al-maf^Cūl al-muṭlaq*, 'the absolute object', cf. 17.3. A literal translation ('I struck a striking') is hardly feasible, though English does have one or two expressions of this type, e.g. 'he did a deed, saw a sight' etc.

15.03 (1) *zarf az-zamān*, lit. 'container of time' (cf. 1.705 n 2), see ch. 18, esp. 18.0-113. Though functionally equivalent to adverbs and prepositions, these are nouns, like all the items in this chapter.

(2) *al-maf^Cūl fih*, lit. 'that in which it is done': most modifiers of verbs are, in the Arab theory, objects of one kind or another of the verb, cf. 15.10, 15.11.

15.04 (1) *zarf al-makān*, lit. 'container of place', structurally identical with the time-qualifier in the previous paragraph. See ch. 18, esp. 18.0, 18.2-214.

(2) The borderline between noun and 'preposition' is often vague: the word *'amāma* which is here seen in its prepositional function reverts easily to noun status, e.g. *'ilā l-'amāmi* 'to the front' (now with noun markers *al*, 1.5, oblique form, 1.31, and oblique operator, 1.7). See further notes to 18.201-214.

15.05 (1) *al-ḥāl*, lit. 'circumstance, situation', see ch. 19, esp. 19.0, 19.1. If *rākiban* here were translated 'as a riding person' it might emphasize that it is not an integral part of the sentence, a feature which is shared by most of the dependent elements (cf. 19.1).

15.06 (1) *at-tamyīz*, lit. 'act of distinguishing, discrimination', see ch. 20. By now the cumulative effect of the examples should be to

reinforce the impression of a favourite sentence pattern, viz. Verb — Agent (independent, indispensable) — Qualifier (dependent, dispensable). Structural confirmation is that the verb and pronoun agent are morphologically a single word (7.5 et seq.), and so *ṣumtu*, for example, is already a complete utterance, 'I fasted', whether qualified (e.g. by *al-yawma* 'today') or not. See further 19.1 n 1, 19.25 n 1.

15.07 (1) *al-mustaṭnā*, see ch. 21, esp. 21.0. Since not every noun becomes dependent in the exceptive construction (cf. 21.2, 21.3) this must be taken as a pedagogical generalization.

15.08 (1) *ism lā*, lit. 'the noun of *lā*' (note how *lā* here, and the items in 15.12-14, become nouns in the metalanguage, cf. 1.6 n 5), see ch. 22. Because of disagreement about the status of the *a* ending on single nouns negated by *lā* (22.12), and because there are other possible endings with the single noun (22.3 et seq.), the example chosen here is an annexation unit, which always has dependent form after *lā* (22.11). See 26.71 on this kind of annexation unit.

15.09 (1) *al-munādā*, lit. 'the person called', see ch. 23, esp. 23.0. The annexed unit is here chosen as the example because it always has dependent form in the vocative construction, whereas single nouns end normally in *u*, variously interpreted as an implicit dependent form or not an inflection at all (even though it is formally identical with the independent ending!), cf. 23.41.

15.10 (1) *al-maḥḥūl min 'ajlih*, lit. 'that for the sake of which it is done', also called *al-maḥḥūl lah*, 'that for which it is done', see ch. 24, esp. 24.0, 24.1.

(2) Note that the verbal noun *'ijlālan*, lit. 'out of honouring' cannot form an objective annexation with *Bakr* (see 24.31 n 1), hence the paraphrase with *li*, scil. 'out of honouring for *Bakr*'.

15.11 (1) *al-maḥḥūl maḥah*, lit. 'that with which it is done', see ch. 25, esp. 25.0, 25.1.

15.12 (1) *ḡabar kāna wa-'aḡawāṭihā*, lit. 'the information of *kāna* and its sisters' (cf. 6.4 n 2 on the anthropomorphism 'sisters' here and in the next two paragraphs). See 10.1 (summary presentation 25.61). In the light of 15.05 n 1 the example here could well be translated 'Zayd existed, as a standing person', since *kāna zayḡun* 'Zayd existed' is a possible (though not common) complete sentence, cf. 10.11 n 3.

15.13 (1) *ism 'inna wa-'aḡawāṭihā*, lit. 'the noun of *'inna* and its sisters', q.v. in 10.4-55 (summary presentation 25.61). The operation of *'inna* is ascribed to its resemblance to a verb (see 10.401), which is certainly compatible with the probable origins of this particle, the demonstrative base *n* (cf. Fleisch 145, 168), giving a meaning roughly equivalent to 'lo!', i.e. 'look!'.

15.14 (1) *maḥḥūlā ḡanantu wa-'aḡawāṭihā*, lit. 'the two objects of *ḡanantu* and its sisters', already dealt with in 10.6-8 (summarized in 25.61). Perhaps because the 'objects' of this verb are a statement

the operating verb (*zanantu*, cf. 10.61 n 1) is often quoted in its 1st sing. past tense form (see 10.61 n 1).

(2) Only by including *zanantu* and by counting all four concordants as one (15.15) can we arrive at the total of fifteen dependent elements which Ibn Ājurrūm himself has promised in 15.0. Nevertheless *zanantu* is missing from the version commented on by al-Azharī (Āj. 80, whence aš-Širbīnī has it), who also adds the 'Ĥijāzī mā' (q.v. 5.84 n 3).

15.15 (1) See ch. 11 on adjectives and concordance; on the juncture feature in *zaydan il-Cāqila* see 11.1 n 2. Summary presentation 25.61.

(2) See ch. 12 on coordination. Summary 25.61.

(3) See ch. 13 on corroboration. Summary 25.61.

(4) See ch. 14 on substitution, summary 25.61. On *a* as dependence marker see 3.61.

(5) This is disputed: an element is either made dependent by a formal operator, which in these cases must be the operator which makes their antecedent dependent, or by an abstract operator (which is what our author implies here), namely concordance itself, see further 1.31 n 4.

16.0 (1) *Jum.* 23, 39, 44; *Muf.* #44; *Alf.* v 267; *Qaṭr* 218; Beeston 87; Fleisch 178; Bateson 45; Yushmanov 64. Terminology: *fi*^C*l* 'verb, act' (see 16.1 n 1); *fā*^C*il* 'agent, doer' (7.01 n 1); *maf*^C*ūl bih* 'direct object', lit. 'that which it is done to', generally abbreviated to *maf*^C*ūl*; *mušabbah bi-l-maf*^C*ūl* 'object-like, quasi-object', see n 2.

(2) By 'quasi-object' is meant the predicate of *kāna* etc., see 10.1, and 16.309 n 1 on transitivity in general. For 'Baṣrans' see 9.4 n 3, and 1.02 n 1 on Ibn Hišām. The reference to his 'marginal commentaries' is based on al-Azharī, *Taṣr.* I, 183 (and cf. I, 308).

16.1 (1) The Arabic reads *yafa*^C*u bihi l-fi*^C*lu*, lit. 'the act falls upon him, befalls him', and 'action of the verb' is merely an attempt to combine in translation the two distinct meanings of *fi*^C*l*: it may denote a grammatical category or a real action (cf. Versteegh 70; both Greek and Indian origins have been suggested for the terminology, v. Versteegh 72 n 10, but no proofs are offered). Cf. *E.I.* (2), '*Fi*^C*l*'.

(2) 'Originating from the agent' is lit. for *šādir min al-fā*^C*il* (cf. *mašdar*, 24.21, cognate with *šādir*), and *fi*^C*l* in this context can hardly mean anything but 'action'.

(3) The 'Kūfans' (9.4 n 3) argue (*Inṣāf*, prob. 11) that both verb and agent together make the direct object dependent, because neither can exist without the other. Against this the 'Baṣrans' claim that a noun cannot have a physical effect (*ta'tīr fī-l-Camal*) on a thing, and so only the verb is the operator (exploiting ambiguity of *fī*^{C1}!).

16.11 (1) See 5.82 n 6 on *muta^Calliq* 'semantically connected', and cf. 16.309 n 1 on transitivity. The inclusion of direct objects where no event occurs, because negated or prohibited, is a refinement which Ibn Hišām attributes to Ibn al-Ḥāḡib (*Qaṭr* 219, and cf. also *Qaṭr* 181 for the agent with no 'act').

(2) On similar grounds Köbert, *Orientalia* NS 29, 328, makes the very reasonable observation that 'object' is thoroughly unsuitable as a translation of *maf^Cūl* except in the specific case of the *maf^Cūl bih*, but his alternative, 'Akkusativ' seems equally arbitrary (cf. 3.5 n 1). We retain 'object' for reasons of symmetry, v. 17.53 n 1.

(3) 'Formal' here is unusually expressed by *bi-r-rasmi*, elsewhere used specifically for 'written form' (viz. 1.4, end), and the comment is taken from al-Azharī, *Āj*. 80. It must refer to the fact that the direct object is the noun *spelt* with dep. form etc. (contrast 17.1, definition of verbal noun in mnemonic terms).

16.2 (1) Direct objects are subdivided by dichotomous classification (1.2 n 2) into the same formal classes as the agent, cf. 7.2.

(2) See 16.1; for completeness, aš-Širbīnī could have added 'with a as their dependence marker', cf. 3.51, 4.11.

(3) See 11.715 on bound pronouns. With one exception (16.301) the bound object pronouns are identical with the bound possessive pronouns, paradigm 4.72 n 2 and see further 16.308.

16.3 (1) This is the same definition as has previously been given for the bound agent pronoun, q.v. 7.5; for 'operator' *Cāmil* see 2.11 n 1. Note that, being a suffix, the direct object pronoun precedes any overt agent (and cf. 7.9 n 1).

16.301 (1) As presented here, in the form *ī*, the 1st sing. object suffix is identical with the corresponding possessive suffix *ī* 'my' (q.v. 3.421 n 3), and the *n* is not regarded as part of the pronoun. Instead it has (so the Arabs claim) the function of preserving the final short vowel of the verb, thus retaining the contrast between *ḡarabanī* here and *ḡarabī* 'my wild honey', for example. The argument is not entirely satisfactory, particularly because the alternation *ī/nī* is present in all Semitic languages with or without inflections to preserve (see 3.96 n 1 on possible origins of *nūn al-wiqāya* 'the *n* of preservation'). The Arab case might have been stronger if they had argued that *n* was necessary to preserve the mood inflections of the imperfect tense verb. Conversely *nī* remains even when there are no vowels to preserve (e.g. apoc. *yarḡamnī* 'he might have mercy on me'), though this could be naturally generalized from *ḡarabanī*.

16.302 (1) See 7.52 n 1 on *al-mu^Caẓẓim li-nafsih* 'he who exalts himself'.

(2) The spelling instruction (3.44 n 2) distinguishes the active from the passive: with *u* in the first syllable *ḍ-r-b-n-ā* would be read automatically as *ḍuribnā* 'we were struck' (8.62).

(3) For the same reasons as in 7.51 n 1, the verb will be translated as if it were a past stem but transliterated in the form in which it is quoted in the text (on which see 3.52 n 3).

16.303 (1) As if to demonstrate his independence from al-Azharī, Āj. 80-81, from which almost the entire contents of this chapter have been copied, aš-Širbīnī provides almost every verb with a different proper name as agent, while al-Azharī makes do with our old friends Zayd (7 times) and ^CAmr (5 times)!

(2) It will be observed that suffixation of an object pronoun appears to disturb the sequence Verb-Agent-Complement (cf. 7.9 n 1), but it can be argued that *ḍarabaka* 'he struck you', with concealed agent pronoun (7.58 n 1) already fulfils the conditions, and that *bakrun* etc. simply restate the agent more specifically.

16.304 (1) All the examples are of the 3rd sing. masc. past tense: see 16.505 n 1 for other combinations. Only 3rd weak radical verbs present any problems, and then only in the 3rd sing. masc., where the long vowel is retained but respelt with 'alif (2.43 n 2), thus *ra'ā* 'he saw' (spelt *ra'ay*, same orthography as *yaḵṣā* = *yaḵṣay*, 3.92 n 2) with object suffixes becomes *ra'ānī* 'he saw me', *ra'āhu* 'he saw him' etc. (the difference is not apparent in transliteration!). Verbs whose 3rd weak rad. is already spelt with 'alif, e.g. *da^Cā* (10.14 n 2) do not change, thus *da^Cāhu* 'he called him' etc., and verbs of the type *laqiya* (ibid.) are in this respect quite regular: *laqiyahu* 'he met him' etc. See 16.308 n 1 for suffixation to imperfect tenses.

16.305 (1) The segmentation problems here are the same as for the agent pronoun suffixes, q.v. 7.53-57, except that the 2nd person morpheme is here called *al-kāf* 'the *k*', and further differentiated by naming its accompanying vowel. For the sing. *ka* and *ki* a translation 'you' is accurate enough, but *ku* can only be labelled temporarily as '*you'; in 16.503-507 a different solution is found: because the Arabs do not regard the suffixes there as pronouns, no translation is offered at all.

16.306 (1) Since aš-Širbīnī does not give us examples of object pronouns suffixed to imperfect tense verbs, here is a typical paradigm, using *ḍaraba* 'to strike' with the 3rd masc. sing. suffix *hu* 'him':

	sing.	dual	plur.
1st	<i>'aḍribuhu</i>		<i>naḍribuhu</i>
2nd masc.	<i>taḍribuhu</i>		<i>taḍribūnahu</i>
fem.	<i>taḍribīnahu</i>	<i>taḍribānihi</i>	<i>taḍribnahu</i>
3rd masc.	<i>yaḍribuhu</i>	<i>yaḍribānihi</i>	<i>yaḍribūnahu</i>
fem.	<i>taḍribuhu</i>	<i>taḍribānihi</i>	<i>yaḍribnahu</i>

Suffix *hu* was chosen because, like *humā*, *hum* and *hunna*, it shows vowel harmony when preceded by *i* or *y* (13.9 n 9), contrast *taḍribānikum* etc. See 16.307 n 2 for dep. and apoc. verbs with suffixes, 16.308 n 1 for suffixes on 3rd weak rad. verbs, imperfect tense.

16.307 (1) There is no justification for this spelling instruction (which is not in al-Azharī, *Āj.* 80), as the *u* is non-phonemic (like that of *tum* etc., it is arbitrary, 7.56 n 2), nor is there any alternation *kunna/kinna* as in the 3rd person (13.9 n 9).

(2) Further to 16.306 n 1, here the paradigm of the dep. form of the verb *ḍaraba* 'to strike', with the object suffix *hu* 'him':

	sing.	dual	plur.
1st	'aḍribahu		naḍribahu
2nd masc.	taḍribahu		taḍribūhu
fem.	taḍribīhi	taḍribāhu	taḍribnahu
3rd masc.	yaḍribahu	yaḍribāhu	yaḍribūhu
fem.	taḍribahu	taḍribāhu	yaḍribnahu

Observe that this time only the 2nd fem. sing. shows vowel harmony. Apoc. forms 'aḍribhu, taḍribhu taḍribīhi etc. 3rd weak rad. verbs at 16.308 n 1.

16.308 (1) 3rd weak rad. verbs, imperfect tense with suffixes: (a) if the final vowel is *ī* (*yarmī*, 4.81 n 2) or *i* (*yarmi*, 3.92 n 1) complete vowel harmony prevails: *yarmīhi*, *yarmihi*; (b) final vowel *ā* (*yaḵṣā*, for *yaḵṣay*, 3.92 n 2) is respelt *ā* (as with *ra'ā*, 16.304 n 1), e.g. *yaḵṣānī*, *yaḵṣāhu*, otherwise regular, e.g. *taḵṣayānihi* etc., but note dep./apoc. 2nd fem. sing. *taḵṣayhi* with vowel harmony (other dep./apoc. forms regular, e.g. *yaḵṣāhu*, *yaḵṣawhu*, and note feminine plurals *ta/yaḵṣaynahu*); (c) final *ū* (*yaḡzū*, 4.81 n 2) or *u* (cf. 3.92 n 1) are regular, e.g. *yaḡzūhu*, *yaḡzuhu*, *yaḡzuwānihi*, but note 2nd. fem. sing. dep./apoc. *taḡzihi*; (d) dep. forms in *iya* or *uwa* (4.82 n 1) are regular, e.g. *yarmiyahu*, *yaḡzuwahu*.

16.309 (1) Transitivity: verbs are (a) intransitive, *lāzim*, lit. 'adhering' to their agent (a logical borrowing absent from the earliest grammar, denoting that the action inheres in the agent), or (b) transitive, *muta^Caddī*, lit. 'going across'. A link with *metabasis* is not impossible (cf. Versteegh 82), but more clarity is needed over Sibawayhi's use of this concept (cf. Levin in *Studia Orientalia memoriae D. H. Baneth dedicata*, Jerusalem 1979, 193). Intransitive verbs include those operating via a preposition (the 'intermediary', *wāsiṭa*, of 16.11), but all verbs, including passives, operate on objects other than the direct object (cf. 17.53, 19.25, 24.4). *Jum.* 39, 44; *Muf.* #432; *Alf.* v 267; Beeston 87; cf. Yushmanov 50.

16.310 (1) Verbs may be doubly transitive (*muta^Caddī* 'ilā *ma^Cūlayn* 'going across to two objects'), in various ways: (a) by having as their objects a proposition (see 10.6), (b) as causatives, e.g. *Callamtuhu n-naḥwa* 'I taught him grammar' (lit. 'made him know', causative of *Calima* 'to know'), *'araytuhu l-kitāba* 'I showed him the book' ('made

him see'), (c) by not distinguishing direct and indirect objects, e.g. *saraqtuhu l-farasa* 'I stole the horse from him'. Types (a) and (b) can combine to form trebly transitive structures, e.g. *'a^Clamtuhu zaydan nā'iman* 'I informed him that Zayd was sleeping' (cf. 10.66).

16.311 (1) The occurrence of dependent forms in isolation (a modern survival is *'ahlan wa-sahlan* 'welcome') led naturally to the assumption that they were operated upon by elided verbs. Many cases were treated not as direct objects but as other dependent qualifiers, e.g. the absolute object (v. 17.7) and the circumstantial qualifier (v. 19.8), while for the space/time qualifier in non-verbal sentences a verbal operator is assumed in the underlying form (9.74). Two prominent examples of direct objects with implicit operators are the vocative (ch. 23, and cf. 16.6 n 2), and dep. adjectives in suspended concord (11.6). Generally the analysis revolves around two problems: what is the class of object (direct, absolute etc.) and is the elision of the verb compulsory or optional. See *Jum.* 295; *Muf.* #60; 16.503 n 1.

16.312 (1) Direct objects may also be operated upon by the verbal noun (*maṣdar*, 17.0) and agent noun (*ism al-fā^Cil*, cf. 10.34 n 1), e.g. *lawlā da^Cu llāhi n-nāsa* 'were it not for God's holding back the people' (v. 7.11), with *an-nāsa* as direct object of the verbal noun *da^Cu* 'holding back', *ḍikrī 'iyyāki* 'my thinking of you' (24.54, with free object pronoun, 16.504), *yā ṭāli^Can jabalan* 'O climber of a mountain' (23.45). Cf. 24.31 n 1 on paraphrases by means of subjective or objective genitive. The dep. form with agent nouns is held to imply the same meaning as the imperfect tense (thus *'anā qātilun ḡulāmaka* means 'I am going to kill your slave-boy', *'aqtulu ḡulāmaka*), while annexation gives the noun adjectival meaning (*'anā qātilu ḡulāmika* 'I am the one who killed your slave-boy'). *Jum.* 95; *Muf.* #345; Nöldeke 75; 16.512 n 1.

(2) The text has *an-nūn...li-jam^C an-niswā* 'the n is for the fem. plur.' (also in 7.57, 7.62, 16.307), and in view of the historical difficulties (7.57 n 1) it is transcribed exactly as realized, either *nna* or *na* as required. Cf. also 3.241 n 1.

16.4 (1) See 5.81 n 3 on 'status', *maḥall*, and observe that here, too the notion of status is closely tied to the fact of invariability, *binā'*, q.v. 1.41 n 4.

(2) 'Hotchpotch' renders the oxymoron *al-ḡaṭṭu s-samīnu*, lit. 'thin meat, fat meat', an echo of the cliché *fī-l-kalāmi l-ḡaṭṭu wa-s-samīnu* 'speech can be thin or meaty' (Lane, s.v. *ḡaṭṭ*, and cf. Ibn Kaldūn, *Muqaddima*, ed. Beirut 1967, I, 786).

16.5 (1) Here are some genuine examples to make up for the wholly artificial series to follow: S. 1 v 5, *'iyyāka na^Cbudu wa' 'iyyāka nasta^Cīnu* 'Thee we worship and Thee we call upon for help'; S. 17 v 67, *man tad^Cūna 'illā 'iyyāhu* 'those whom you call upon except him'.

(2) See 11.716, 717, 719 also. Origins of *'iyyā* 16.508 n 1.

16.501 (1) It is tempting to expect the object suffix of the 1st person sing. to be *nī* (16.301), but instead we find *ya*, evidently the

same as the possessive suffix allomorph *ya* (see next note). This is consistent, however, with the Arab view that the *n* of *nī* is not part of the pronoun (cf. 16/301 n 1), as well as with their (intuitive?) realization that *'iyyā* is certainly not a verb (see 16.504 n 2). For Reckendorf, *Ar. Synt.* 281, *Synt. Verh.* 394, there is no question that the elements suffixed to *'iyyā* are possessive ('genitive') pronouns.

(2) After long vowels and diphthongs the possessive suffix *ī* 'my' is realized as *ya*, see examples in 23.62.

16.502 (1) It is so here, but *'iyyā* and suffix occur in contexts where it is apparent that they have independent function, e.g. *'aqūlu hiya 'iyyāhā* 'I say that she is' (lit. 'that she is she'), *'anta l-ma'niyyu wa-'iyyāka turādu* 'you are the one meant and you are intended', and cf. the interesting variant of the Qur'anic verse quoted in 16.5 n 1: *'iyyāka tu^cbadu* 'Thou art worshipped', with passive verb *tu^cbadu* (these and other examples collected and discussed by Fischer, *Islamica* 5, 211).

(2) See 7.52 n 1 on the pluralis majestatis, here expressed as *ta^cẓīm* '(self-)magnification' to contrast with *mušāraka* 'association with others', i.e. the normal plural.

16.503 (1) In 26.96 aš-Širbīnī says *'iyyāka 'an taẓunna...* 'beware of thinking...', using *'iyyāka* as a warning (*taḥdīr*). Here it is followed by a subordinate clause (but with noun status: 5.41), but a common pattern is to follow it with a dependent noun prefixed with *wa* 'and', e.g. *'iyyāka wa-l-'asada* 'watch out for the lion!' (a variety perhaps of the 'object of accompaniment', but cf. 25.6 n 1). These dependent forms are always explained by the Arabs as due to an elided verbal operator, compulsorily elided in the case of *'iyyāka* (which is another way of saying that the construction has acquired proverbial status and is no longer productive). Other expressions of warning with dep. nouns are frequent (e.g. *'akāka 'akāka* 'your brother! your brother!', in 13.11), and the main problem is to decide whether *'iyyāka* is, in fact, a dependent form or an old exclamatory form (cf. 25.1 n 2) which fell together with the dependent forms: see Fischer, *Islamica* 5, 225; cf. 16.311 n 1.

16.504 (1) Another example of *'iyyāki* in 24.54, *ḍikrī 'iyyāki* 'my thinking of you', this time direct object of a verbal noun (16.312 n 1).

(2) Seven different explanations of the status of *'iyyā* and its suffixes are offered in *Inṣāf*, prob. 98. Those who make *'iyyā* the pronoun itself are rebutted on two grounds: first it is annexed to its suffixes (proved by the nominal suffix form of the 1st person *ya*, q.v. 16.501), and pronouns cannot be annexed to other elements; second if *'iyyā* is a pronoun why does it need to be specified by suffixes? This is incompatible with the function of pronouns (11.718 n 2). Those who treat the whole compound as the pronoun are avoiding the issue, while those who take the second element to be the pronoun leave *'iyyā* thereby unexplained, nor can they thus account for *'iyyāyā*!

16.505 (1) See 16.305 n 1 on transliteration and translation problems.

(2) Note that there is no general restriction on suffixation in terms of person: 1st person verb with 1st person suffix is possible, e.g. *kiltunī liya smun* 'I imagined myself to have a name' (10.63), *'ajidunī fī ḥayratin* 'I find myself at a loss' etc. A famous Qur'anic example, S. 12 v 36: *'innī 'arānī...* 'verily I see myself...' (describing the contents of a dream).

16.506 (1) Another example is in 12.41: *'innā 'aw 'iyyākum* 'verily we, or you...', avoiding the repetition of *'inna* 'verily' (because it does not sound natural in the interior of a clause?).

(2) Two minor aspects of pronoun suffixation can be pointed out here: (a) after 2nd plur. masc. past tense *ū* is inserted between agent and object suffix, e.g. *katabtumūhu* 'you wrote it' (cf. 10.66 n 2), and (b) after 2nd sing. fem. past tense the *i* which marks the fem. agent is occasionally lengthened, e.g. *katabtīhi* 'you wrote it' (note also vowel harmony, 13.6 n 9); this lengthening is doubtless a survival of the Proto-Semitic original (Moscatti #137, 141).

16.507 (1) Instead of 'fem. n' (16.312 n 2), the text has here *an-nūn al-mušaddada*, lit. 'the tied n', referring to the convention by which doubled consonants are indicated diacritically, see 24.23 n 2.

(2) Doubly transitive verbs (16.310 n 1) may take double object pronoun suffixes, e.g. *'aḥṭānīhi* 'he gave me it', under the general rule that 1st precedes 2nd precedes 3rd person (so 'he gave me to him' should be *'aḥṭāhu 'iyyāya*); other examples, *'anṣadanīhimā* 'he recited them both to me' (*Kitāb* I, 437), *yuḥlimukahu* 'he informs you of it' (id. 248).

16.508 (1) Bravmann's theory for the origin of *'iyyā* (*J.S.S.* 16, 50): it has detached itself from the double object suffix, thus *'aḥṭāniyahu* (with archaic *niya* for *nī*) 'he gave me it' split into *'aḥṭānī - yāhu*, and the second element became free-standing as *'iyyāhu*.

16.509 (1) Here *hā* is spelt out in full: normally only *h* is named as the pronoun (e.g. 16.309, though transcribed as *hā* for convenience, and cf. 9.42 n 1 on segmentation of *huwa* 'he', *hiya* 'she').

(2) One type of apparent direct object occurs through 'latitude of speech' (*saḥat al-kalām*, 18.1 n 4), and involves space/time qualifiers, e.g. *allaḡī sirtuhu yawmu l-jumḥati* 'what I travelled was Friday' for *sirtu fīhi* 'travelled on (it)', and, with agent noun, *yā sāriqa l-laylati* 'O thief of the night', i.e. 'in the night'; through the same 'latitude' these objects may become agents of passive verbs, v. 8.0 n 4. *Muf.* #66.

16.510 (1) Inversion (*taqdīm wa-ta'kīr*, 'advancing and retarding', cf. 2.13 n 1) is possible in two ways: (a) simple inversion, e.g. *zaydan ḡarabtu* 'Zayd I struck' (especially common in questions, e.g. *'a-zaydan ḡarabta* 'Zayd did you strike!?') (b) inversion with pronoun on the verb, e.g. *zaydan ḡarabtuhu* 'Zayd I struck': this is a variety of the nominal sentence with complex predicate (9.75) where the dep. form of *zaydan* is allowed *ḥalā šarīḡat at-tafsīr* 'on condition of explanation', i.e. that the object pronoun suffix should explain the function of the

preposed dep. form, v. *Muf.* #62.

16.511 (1) Attraction may occur when a noun occurs after a direct object, e.g. *ḡarabtu zaydan wa-ʿamran marartu bihi* 'I struck Zayd and ʿAmr I passed by', where ʿamran, though not a direct object (*marra* operates through *bi*), has dep. form by attraction; the phenomenon has acquired the name *iṣṭiḡāl* 'preoccupation'. A related type of attraction occurs when a noun is both object of one verb and agent of another in the same sentence, e.g. *ḡarabanī wa-ḡarabtu zaydan* of which the English passive gives the best reproduction: 'I was struck by, and struck Zayd'. The term *tanāzuʿ* 'mutual struggle, competition' is used for this circumstance. *Alf.* v 278; *Qaṭr* 200, 210.

16.512 (1) Object pronouns may also be suffixed to agent nouns and verbal nouns (16.312 n 1), though out of context *qatluhu* 'his killing' is ambiguous, as the agent may also be suffixed. Where both agent and object are present only the former is usually suffixed, the object being expressed either as a free object pronoun (*qatluhu ʿiyyāhu*) or by the paraphrase with *li* (*qatluhu lahu*, cf. 24.31 n 1). It is seldom that more than one pronoun is suffixed to the verbal noun (see examples in Reckendorf, *Ar. Synt.* 284), though an anonymous and late grammar does offer the ludicrous *min ʿiṣṭāʾihi hāhu* 'at his giving him it', with three suffixes, two written separately! (Carter, *Arabica* 26, 271).

16.6 (1) Patient noun, *ism al-mafʿūl*, as a form class: 10.34 n 1.

(2) Not universally: the order varies according to the ideas of the grammarian. For az-Zamaḡṣārī the absolute object (ch. 17) has first place; the vocative (ch. 23) is treated by Ibn Hišām as a subdivision of the direct object.

17.0 (1) *Jum.* 44; *Muf.* #39; *Alf.* v 286; *Qaṭr* 240; Beeston 89; Fleisch 177; Nöldeke 35. On *maṣḍar* 'verbal noun' see 24.21 n 1.

17.1 (1) 'Conjugating the parts' reproduces the schoolbook flavour of the term *taṣrīf*: its broader meaning is the derivation of all possible forms, nominal and verbal, from a given root (cf. 10.3; *Muf.* ##368, 482; Fleisch, *Tr.* #145p n 1), hence *ṣarf* for 'morphology' in general (cf. 1.01 n 2). Versteegh 64 suggests Greek origins (*klisis* or *ptosis*) but without proof (though it is true that *ṣarf* and its derivatives are part of the earliest grammatical vocabulary, v. Troupeau, *Lex.-Index* root ṣ-r-f). There are two sets of terminology, the morphological set *ṣarf-taṣrīf-taṣarruf* ('process of being conjugated'), and the cognate

series *şarf-mutaşarrif-muşarif*, denoting the syntactic freedom of the fully inflected noun (see 18.4), the bifurcation as yet unexplained.

(2) Though third in sequence, the verbal noun is held by the 'Başrans' (9.4 n 3) to be the origin of all verbs (it is logically prior because it denotes an event without time). The 'Kūfans' base their expected counterview on the fact that phonological weaknesses in the verb are reproduced in the *maşdar* (*Inşāf*, prob. 28).

17.2 (1) 'Ways' here is *'anwā*^C, lit. 'sorts', but used evidently as an arbitrary synonym of *wajh* 'mode' (22.4 n 1) or *ḥāla* 'state' (11.2 n 1).

(2) See 16.301 on the 'preserving n', and note that here the verb must be translated as a past stem rather than infinitive (see 7.51 n 1). The verbal noun here has independent function as agent (cf. noun phrase with *'anna*, 7.02), but can also function as subject of an equational sentence, e.g. *ḍarbuka muntaḍarun* 'your blow is expected' (cf. 9.02). The translation 'your striking' assumes the subjective genitive, but the objective genitive 'the striking of you' is also possible (16.512 n 1). Verbal noun as inverted subject, 12.51.

(3) Dependent verbal nouns may occur in other functions than absolute object, of course: as direct object (*qaṣadtu ḍarbaka* 'I intended your striking'), circumstantial qualifier (*karhan* 'unwillingly', 19.33 n 1), object of reason (*'ijlālan* 'out of respect, but see 24.22) and object of accompaniment (*wa-'ityānahu* 'while doing it', 25.33).

17.3 (1) 'Absolute object', *maḥḥūl muṭlaq*, is indeed the most common name for this function of the verbal noun; see 16.1 on *maḥḥūl*, and cf. 11.717, 12.1 for *muṭlaq* in other contexts. Köbert, op. cit. 16.11 n 2, 330, plausibly suggests that *muṭlaq* here is not '(logically) absolute' but literally 'free to be object of any verb', transitive or not (17.53).

17.4 (1) 'congruent with the verb' renders *al-jārī ḥalā l-fi*^C, lit. 'which runs according to the verb'; the verb *jarā* and its derivatives have been used from the first to describe linguistic processes both in themselves and as actions performed by the speaker, cf. Troupeau, *Lexique-Index*, root *j-r-y*. See also 17.51 n 1.

(2) 'Synonyms of verbal nouns not true verbal nouns' is rather free for *'asmā'u maṣādīra wa-laysat maṣādīra*, lit. 'nouns of verbal nouns, not verbal nouns themselves'. The problem is that *wuḍū'* and *ḡuṣl* are, in fact, Stem I verbal nouns (17.52 n 1), not 'absolute objects', because their verbs are Stems VIII and V respectively (see next note); *Caṭā'*, however, is a pure noun, a straightforward direct object.

(3) See 8.3 n 2 for *qiyās* 'analogy', here translated 'regularly derived (form)'. The verbal nouns here are respectively Stems VIII, V and IV, q.v. 10.34 n 1.

17.5 (1) Note the dichotomous classification (cf. 1.2 n 2), and see 2.1 n 2 on the opposition between 'formal' (*lafẓī*) and 'abstract' (*maḥḥawī*). 'Constituent letters' translates *ḥurūf*, plur. of *ḥarf*,

'particle, element, letter', q.v. 1.25 n 2; 'consonantal phonemes' could perhaps have been used for 'letters', or even 'radicals' (cf. 5.1 n 2), but it is not certain how far below the surface structure the Arab analysis intends to delve.

17.51 (1) While in 17.4 a morphological criterion is applied, the distinction here is purely lexical: both the verb and the absolute object have the same *lafẓ* 'form' (i.e. stem, cf. 3.65 n 9), contrast the next paragraph.

(2) Perhaps 'I killed him dead' would sound more natural, but would not then reproduce the Arabic structure: rather 'dead' would correspond to a circumstantial qualifier (cf. *qatalahu ṣabran* 'he killed him in bonds', 24.52).

17.52 (1) Unlike Stems IV-X (q.v. 10.34 n 1), the verbal noun patterns of Stems I-III are not wholly predictable. Stem I verbal nouns range over a very large number of patterns (44 in Wright I, 110, cf. also *Muf.* #331; *Fleisch* 109), but only five are common: *fa*^C*l* (*qatlun* 'killing'), *fa*^C*al* (*qasamun* 'swearing', 1.71 n 2), *fa*^C*āla* (*malāḥatun* 'being pretty'), *fu*^C*ūl* (*wuqūfun* 'standing') and *fu*^C*ūla* (*ṣuḥūbatun* 'being difficult'). Stem II has mostly *taf*^C*īl* (*tankīrun* 'making undefined'), but 3rd weak rad. roots and a few odd cases have *taf*^C*īla* (*tarbiyatun* 'bringing up', *tajribatun* 'experiment'). Stem III has mostly *mufā*^C*ala* (*muqātalatun* 'combat'), less often *fi*^C*āl* (*qitālun* 'combat').

17.53 (1) On *muta*^C*addf* 'transitive' and *lāzim* 'intransitive' see 16.309 n 1, and note that in the present passage *qāṣir* 'falling short' occurs as a synonym of *lāzim*. Only the direct object, *maf*^C*ūl bih*, in fact requires a transitive verb as operator, and since *maf*^C*ūl* is used for various other verbal complements, 'object' is retained in the translation in spite of Köbert's reservations, q.v. 16.11 n 2.

(2) It goes without saying that passive verbs may operate upon anything except a direct object (8.0): here with absolute objects, *futila fatlan* 'it was twisted with a twisting', i.e. firmly, *tubbirū tatbīran* 'they were crumbled with a crumbling' (examples after Reckendorf, *Ar. Synt.* 82). The Qur'anic example in 13.14, *dukkat il-'arḍu dakkan dakkan* 'the earth was crushed with a crushing' also shows a passive verb operating on an absolute object.

(3) On the medial vowel alternation between *ḍarabtu* and *fariḥtu* see 10.22 n 2; *'aḥbabtu* 'I loved' is a Stem IV (8.63 n 1) derivative of a 'doubled verb' (10.61 n 1), whose 2nd and 3rd radicals assimilate when the latter is followed by a vowel ('*aḥabba* 'he loved') but otherwise remain dissimilated, as here; *miqatun* is from a 1st rad. *w* root *w-m-q*, and the *w* is regularly lost in certain nominal forms (see 3.412 n 9) and the imperfect tense and imperative verbs of Stem I (10.67 n 1).

17.54 (1) Abū ^CUṭmān al-Māzinī, d. 863, is an important, but shadowy transitional figure between the earliest grammarians and such better known grammarians as his own pupil, al-Mubarrad (22.3 n 1). Almost nothing survives of his works outside some substantial contributions in

phonology and morphology (largely preserved by Ibn Jinnī), yet he has been called the greatest grammarian since Sībawayhi (G.A.L. I, 168 and Suppl., and cf. R.A.R. al-ʿUbaydī, *Abū ʿUṭmān al-Māzinī wa-maḡhabuh fi-ṣ-ṣarf wa-n-naḥw*, Baghdad 1969).

(2) The former opinion being that attributed above to al-Māzinī, though this whole paragraph is, as might be expected, taken from al-Azharī, this time *Āj.* 82. The reference cannot be traced directly to al-Māzinī, and suspicion is in any case aroused by the fact that al-Mubarrad is silent both about al-Māzinī and this theory in the relevant parts of the *Muqtaḍab* (esp. I, 73).

17.6 (1) Except for the type set out in 17.63, these elements are all annexed to the verbal noun: the resulting compound functions as a single element, cf. 26.91 n 1. On 'replace' see 17.61 n 2, and cf. 18.34 for the same phenomenon with space/time qualifiers.

17.61 (1) See 20.42 n 3 on the syntax of the superlative.

(2) The analysis assumes an underlying **sirtu sayran 'aḥsana sayrin 'I travelled a travelling, the best of travelling'*. 'Replacing' here is *nāba*, lit. 'to stand in place of, deputize', used for allomorphs in 3.0, and for the agent of the passive verb in 8.0.

17.62 (1) Note that *ḍarbātīn* is sound fem. plur. (3.23): the fem. form of the verbal noun denotes individual (countable) actions, whence it is termed *ism al-marra* 'the noun of time' ('nomen vicis' makes clear which sense of the word 'time' is involved!). The distinction between the class of action (masc.) and the number of times (fem.) could hardly be better observed than in the treatment of the Qur'anic verse next quoted (but see below, n 4 on the reason for the fem. sing.). See 17.7 n 3.

(2) S. 24 v 4. Note the juncture feature in the imperative verb (q.v. 5.2 n 3, 13.12 n 1). See further n 4.

(3) 'Original form' is *'aṣl*, q.v. 8.2 n 3.

(4) After the numbers from 11 to 99 the counted noun has undefined dep. sing. form (contrast the undefined. obl. sound fem. plur. after '10' above, and see further 20.21-22), and is analysed as a structurally redundant 'specifying element' (20.0), hence *jalḍatan* does not appear in the reconstructed underlying form. Decades are used in this example to point up the functional difference between the two dependent forms, verbal noun and specifying element (cf. 18.31).

17.63 (1) Here the replacement element does not have the form of an annexation unit, but one still must be assumed, scil. **ḍarabtuḥu ḍarba sawṭin 'I struck him the striking of a whip'*. Cf. 2.5 on *ʿaṣan*, which follows the behaviour of *fatan* (though its 3rd rad. is w). 'Instrument' is *'āla*: there is a morphological category *ism al-'āla* 'the noun of instrument', with the patterns *mifʿal*, *mifʿāl*, e.g. *miṭbaḵ* 'oven', *miftāḥ* 'key', Fleisch 85; Yushmanov 36.

17.64 (1) See 13.4 on *kull* and its synonyms; the other corroboratives *nafs* and *ʿayn* (13.31) behave similarly. Cf. also 18.32.

(2) S. 4 v 129; see 5.76 on apocopated verbs after *la* of prohibition, 10.23 n 2 on hollow verbs (*tamīlū/mayl* have root *m-y-l*, unrelated to root *m-w-l*, denominative from *māl* 'wealth').

17.65 (1) Synonyms of *ba^Cḍ* are fractions, cf. 18.32. From its use in *qāla ba^Cḍuhum* 'some (or one) of them said' etc., *ba^Cḍ* has developed a reciprocal function, e.g. *qāla ba^Cḍuhum li-ba^Cḍin* 'some said to others' i.e. 'they said to each other'. Cf. Yushmanov 33, Fleisch, Tr. #118j.

(2) S. 69 v 44; see next note for comments.

(3) The work is lost, but al-Azharī, *Taṣr.* I, 328, may be consulted instead. In his own Qur'ān Commentary (IV, 323), aṣ-Širbīnī says nothing about the grammar of this verse, except to remark that 'aqāwīl is a double plural (cf. 3.221 n 2): it is the plur. of 'aqwāl, itself the plur. of qawl 'a saying', and belongs to the semi-declinable class of 'extreme plural patterns' (3.89 (1)). On taqawwala, Stem V of a hollow verb, cf. 8.73 n 1.

17.7 (1) 'Grammarians' is *naḥwiyyūn* (also *nuḥāh*), plur. of *naḥwī*, in the earliest stages simply 'one who concerned himself with the way people speak' (*naḥw*, 1.02 n 1), finally 'grammarian' as grammar evolved into a self-conscious discipline under the influence of other sciences and cultures (cf. Carter, R.E.I. 40, 76).

(2) 'Sufficiently indicated by the context of discourse' translates *li-dalīl maqālī*, lit. 'because of a pointer related to the discourse' (*maqāla* 'a saying' with gentilic suffix *ī*, 11.721 n 4). Cf. 19.8 n 1.

(3) The 'noun of time' (*ism al-marra*, 17.62 n 1) usually has the pattern *fa^Cla*, hence *jalsatayni* 'two acts of sitting', even though the verbal noun itself may have a different pattern, here *fu^Cūl* (cf. 17.52 n 1). *Balā* 'on the contrary' is related to *bal* 'nay', q.v. 12.7.

(4) Reconstructed as **qadimta quḍūman mubārakan* '*may you arrive with a blessed arriving' (see 14.34 n 3 on optative verb). Many greetings fall into this category, cf. 16.311 n 1, also *Muf.* #41.

17.71 (1) An example is *dukkat il-'arḍu dakkan dakkan* 'the earth is crushed with a crushing, a crushing', quoted in 13.14, where both the verbal nouns are absolute objects.

(2) The *Kāfiya* in question is Ibn Mālik's own, on which he wrote a commentary entitled *al-Wāfiya* 'The Copious' (*G.A.L.* I, 300), and see 1.02 n 2 on Ibn Mālik. Neither is published, but the reference in any case is taken from al-Azharī, *Taṣr.* I, 329. Cf. *Alf.* v 291.

(3) Badr ad-Dīn Muḥammad, died 1287 (*G.A.L.* I, 300), wrote commentaries on several of his father's works, as well as on the more famous *Kāfiya* of Ibn al-Ḥājjib (q.v. 12.912 n 3). The reference here is not traced, but see previous note for aṣ-Širbīnī's source. Such expressions as 'innamā 'anta sayran sayran 'you are nothing but travel' strongly support Badr ad-Dīn (and cf. *Muqtaḍab* III, 228).

17.8 (1) Agent nouns and verbal nouns themselves may be qualified by an

absolute object, e.g. *murtaqiyatun 'a^Clā l-irtiqā'i* lit. 'rising the highest rising', i.e. 'highly progressive' (the absolute object here is displaced by an annexed elative, exactly as in 17.61).

18.0 (1) *Jum.* 45; *Muf.* #64; *Alf.* v 303; *Qaṭr* 246; Beeston 88; Fleisch 179; Yushmanov 61; Nöldeke 35. Terminology: *al-maf^Cūl fīh* 'that in which the action is done' ('object of location' is intended to imply location in both space and time, cf. *Kitāb* I, 16, where *waqt* 'point' refers to both); *ṣarf zamān* lit. 'container of time', *ṣarf makān* lit. 'container of place', cf. 18.101 n 1.

(2) The reference is from al-Azharī, *Taṣr.* I, 337; al-Kisā'ī, died 805, was the master of al-Farrā' (1.21 n 2) and a legendary opponent of Sībawayhi (0.1 n 1), *G.A.L.* I, 115, *E.I.* (2), art. 'al-Kisā'ī. Cf. *Inṣāf*, prob. 6 for his and other 'Kūfan' terminology.

(3) Al-Azharī (loc. cit.) has made a pun here: *iṣṭilāḥ* can mean 'making peace' or 'agreeing on technical terms' (cf. 1.1 n 2).

18.1 (1) 'With the implicit meaning of *fī* "in" renders *bi-taqdīri fī* (cf. 2.101 n 1 on *taqdīr*), i.e. *al-yawma* 'today' is to be understood as **fī l-yawmi* 'in this day' (asterisked because the prepositional phrase almost never occurs). On *fī* see further 1.705.

(2) 'Power exercised' is literal for *tasalluṭ* (denominative from *sulṭān* 'power, authority, Sultan'), an interesting, and coincidental parallel to the Western notion of grammatical 'governance', cf. 2.11 n 1.

(3) 'Systematically' renders *bi-ṭṭirād*, lit. 'uniformly, continuously', and commonly applied to generalizations and their applicability (cf. *qiyās muṭṭarid* 'a generally valid analogy').

(4) 'Latitude' is literal for *tawassu^C*, often termed *sa^Ca* ('width', same root *w-s-^C* as *tawassu^C*), and undoubtedly an early borrowing from law (cf. Troupeau, *Lexique-Index* for many examples in Sībawayhi). The present case has similarities with such English compounds as 'sleep-walker', 'nightwatchman', 'shoplifter', where the initial element corresponds to a space/time qualifier, contrast 'dog-catcher' etc. (cf. also 26.9).

18.101 (1) The choice of *ṣarf* 'container' for 'space/time qualifier' has been confidently explained as due to Greek influence by A. Merx, *Historia artis grammaticae apud syros*, Leipzig 1889, 146 (v. 1.705 n 2) but the precise manner in which the idea could have been transmitted

remains a mystery. The borrowing, if genuine, is also inspired, as the Greek (and Syriac) grammarians certainly had nothing to offer with their *epirrhemata* and *prothesis*.

(2) Cf. 11.82 n 2 on *ṣāliḥa* 'proper', from the verb *ṣaluḥa*.

(3) The transliteration *yawma* is a compromise: the text reads *yawm*, presumably inflected with the case required by its context (so here *yawmun*, as subject of the sentence, scil. 'the word for "day"'), but *yawma* is chosen to remind the reader that it always has dependent form when functioning as a time/qualifier, defined or undefined. Other examples: 11.742; *yawma* annexed to sentences 2.44 n 1.

18.102 (1) There is an interesting possibility with *layl* of using the undefined masc. to mean 'by night', e.g. *i^ctakaftu laylan* 'I made my devotions by night', contrasting with the fem. sing. *laylatan* 'for one night' as in this paragraph. There is thus an exact parallel with the use of the masc. verbal noun to denote a class of action and the fem. to denote individual, countable acts (17.62 n 1, and cf. 11.44 n 2 on the fem. as an individualizing category). For *yawm* the procedure is different: *yawman* 'for a day' contrasts already with *al-yawma* 'today', and for the opposition 'by night/by day' another word has to be used, viz. *nahāran* (see also 18.41 n 2).

(2) The 'Kūfans' (9.4 n 3), of course, argue otherwise: they claim that space/time qualifiers are dependent through being 'different' from their antecedents (*kilāf* 'difference' or *ṣarf* 'divergence', cf. *Inṣāf*, prob. 29, Carter, *Arabica* 20, 292). The basis of this interpretation is that elements which are structurally redundant tend to have dependent form (19.6, 20.01), especially when they are not identical with their antecedents (concord implies identity, cf. 19.5 n 2).

18.103 (1) This item is cognate with *ḡadan* 'tomorrow', 18.106.

(2) That nouns of time can be regarded as proper names is justifiable on formal grounds (absence of *tanwīn*, cf. *makkatu* 'Mecca', and see 3.89 (4) on the semi-declinability of fem. proper names) as well as semantic grounds (*ḡudwata* must denote the morning of a specific day, cf. 11.72). But see 18.2 n 2.

(3) 'Final *n*' here and elsewhere in this chapter is preferred (in spite of the remarks in 1.4 n 1) for *tanwīn* because it makes the contrast between, say, *ḡudwatan* and *ḡudwata* more apparent.

(4) Note that *yawmi l-ḡamīsi* here is not a time/qualifier as it is in 18.101: the head word *yawmi* of the annexation construction has oblique form because *ḡudwata* is annexed to it (cf. 18.32).

18.104 (1) See 8.21 n 2 on '*i^crāb* in the sense of 'parsing', and 11.2 n 1 on '*aḥwāl* 'states'. Throughout these paragraphs aṣ-Ṣirbīnī is freely adapting al-Azharī, *Āj.* 82-3, often without bothering to reproduce the entire material.

18.105 (1) See the previous note for 'states', 'parsing' and the reason for the failure to provide examples. They are predictable enough and

need not be supplied here: instead we should note that the time qualifier in general can also occur as a prepositional phrase, e.g. *bi-saḥarin* 'in the morning', *fī l-layli* 'at night' etc.

18.106 (1) This is reduced from *ḡadwan*, and is cognate with *ḡudwatan* in 18.103. It seldom occurs in any but the undefined form given here, though the phrase *fī l-ḡadi* 'on (lit. 'in') the morrow' is found.

(2) Here might be mentioned the unique phrase *ladun ḡudwatan* 'from early in the morning': the first element of this phrase is evidently cognate with *ladā* (18.214 n 1), and the dep. form of *ḡudwatan* is due to assimilation to the structure of specifying elements, particularly of the numbers 11-99 (cf. 20.21 n 4), as if the *n* of *ladun* were a *tanwīn* (contrast the variant *ladun ḡudwatīn*, and cf. Nöldeke 58).

18.107 (1) Note that, in the absence of clocks, day and night are divided up into periods (and cf. the verbs in 10.11-16). By the time of aš-Širbīnī, however, these words had either lost their precision or become mere antiquarian items.

18.108 (1) Cf. *ʿaṣbaḥa* 'to do, or be, in the morning', 10.13.

(2) Verbs with 1st rad. ' , such as *ʿItūnī* here (masc. plur. imperative of *ʿatā* 'to come'), lose the ' under certain conditions. The principle is that the syllable 'v' reduces to 'v̄: this occurs often when ' is prefixed to the verb, e.g. Stem I, 1st sing. imperfect tense *ʿātī* (*'a'tī), imperatives *ʿīti* (*'i'ti), *ʿītū* (*'i'tū) etc., Stem IV past tense *ʿāyatu* (*'a'taytu) etc., 1st sing. imperfect tense *ʿūtī* (*'u'tī), imperative *ʿāti* (*'a'ti), *ʿātū* (*'a'tū) etc. (NB. *ʿatā* is further complicated by being a weak 3rd rad. verb: its imperfect ends as *yarmī*, 4.81 n 2 (2), and its past tense as *raʿā*, 10.65 n 1). Note *ʿatā* with direct objects where English uses indirect objects: many verbs of motion are thus transitive in Arabic, e.g. *jāʿanī* 'he came to me' (cf. also 5.82 n 5). Three verbs with 1st rad. ' behave as 1st rad. w verbs in the imperative only (10.38 n 1), viz. *ʿakala* 'to eat' (*kul* 'eat!', etc.), *ʿamara* 'to order' (*mur* 'order!' etc.) and *ʿakaḍa* 'to take' (*kuḍ* 'take!' etc., see example in 23.31).

18.109 (1) Cf. *ʿamsā* 'to do, or be, in the evening', 10.12. Moscati #15.2 cites *ṣabāḥa masāʿa* 'mornings and evenings', without *tanwīn*.

18.110 (1) Cf. 3.53, where az-Zamaḡṣarī's claim that *lan* denotes perpetual negation is not strengthened by the presence of *ʿabadan* in the same sentence.

(2) A defined form, **al-ʿabada*, is impossible, cf. 18.112 n 1.

18.111 (1) This is presumably a variant of *ʿabadan* above: interchange of *m* and *b* in both directions is well attested (Brockelmann, *Grundr.* I, 232, Cantineau, *Études* 28, note especially *bakka* for 'Mecca'), but *ʿamadan*/*ʿabadan* is not mentioned. Cf. also Fleisch, *Tr.* #9c.

(2) There is evidently no *ʿamada l-ʿamadīna*, and our source, al-Azhari ʿAj. 83, can only cite *ʿamada d-dahri* and *ʿamada d-dāhirīna* (cf. *dahra d-dāhirīna*), *dahr* meaning 'age, era, time' (cf. 18.113 n 1).

18.112 (1) 'Noun of vague time' is *ism li-zamān mubham* (cf. 11.73 on *mubham* 'vague', also 18.113 n 1). Neither the generic article (11.741) nor the article of familiarity (11.742) can occur with this class of time qualifier: 'at the time' can only be expressed either by making *hīn* specific by means of a demonstrative (*fī ḡālika l-hīni* 'at that time') or by annexing it to a specific event, as in the example in the text (and cf. *hīna'idin* 'at that time', like *waqta'idin* etc., 5.43 n 1). Dep. plural *'aḥyānan* means 'sometimes', and there is a plur. of the plur. (3.221 n 2), *fī l-'aḥāyīni* 'at times'.

18.113 (1) Aš-Širbīnī has conflated here the three classes of time qualifier in his source, al-Azharī, *Taṣr.* I, 341. As listed there, we find (a) nouns of vague time (*mubham*, 18.112 n 1), the same as aš-Širbīnī (to whose examples we should add *mudda* 'period', *marra* 'time, occasion', several words meaning an indefinite period, such as *dahr*, *fatra*, *Caṣr*, *'awān*, *zamān* etc., two words which occur only in annexation, viz. *ba^Cda* 'after', *qabla* 'before', cf. 18.41 n 2, and such pairs as *tāratān...tāratān* 'one time...another time', etc, not forgetting *fawran* 'immediately', *'ayḍan* 'also'); (b) nouns of specific time (*muḳtaṣṣ*), e.g. *yawma l-ḡamīsi* 'on Thursday', which answer the question 'when?' (this class may be closed: we can add only *al-bāriḥata* 'yesterday' and *al-'āna* 'now'); (c) nouns of countable time (*ma^Cdūd*), e.g. *ṣahran* 'for a month', answering the question 'how long?' (this class is not quite closed: neologisms *daqīqa* 'minute' and *ṭāniya* 'second' have been added, and the 'vague' noun *sā^Ca* 'moment' has extended from class (a) to class (c) in the meaning of 'hour'). It will be seen that aš-Širbīnī's second class is a mixture of al-Azharī's (b) and (c). Note also that in the metalanguage all items bear the definite article, e.g. *al-waqtu* 'the word *waqt*', which does not mean that they may occur as time qualifiers with the article.

18.2 (1) 'Space qualifier' is *zarf makān*, lit. 'container of place', cf. 18.101 n 1, and see 18.4 n 2 on the difference between these nouns and pure prepositions.

(2) Cf. 11.82 n 2 on *ṣāliḥ* 'proper'. Unlike time nouns, only vague (*mubham*) place nouns may normally occur as space qualifiers (*ḡahabtu ṣ-ṣāma* 'I went Damascus' is cited as an anomaly, *Kitāb* I, 15). In his discussion of this problem, Sībawayhi makes two important points: (a) time qualifiers are inherently appropriate for verbs because time is a formal component of the verb, and (b) places have a physical being (*juṭṭa* 'body'), while time is merely the alternation of night and day, i.e. is cyclic whereas places are unique.

18.201 (1) There is no attempt to escape the circularity of these paraphrases (cf. 18.203!), see 12.92 n 1.

(2) That *'amāma* still has an independent existence as a noun is seen in such phrases as *'ilā l-'amāmi* 'to the front', where *'ilā* still has the nominal markers *al* (1.5) and the oblique case ending *i* (1.31).

18.202 (1) This, too, retains its nominal quality, cf. *'ilā l-ḡalfi* 'to the rear', and also occurs undefined, *ḡalfan* 'behind'. It is cognate

with *kalīfa* 'caliph', i.e. he who remains behind or follows on. For 'i^crāb 'parsing' see 8.21 n 2, and note that in these paragraphs aš-Širbīnī adapts very freely from al-Azhari, Āj. 84.

18.203 (1) Here one may register a very minor quibble against the use of the term 'preposition' by Brockelmann (*Grundr.* II, 420) in his discussion of this word. It was never anything but a noun, just as 'front' is a noun still; note, however, Brockelmann's comment that *quddāma* does not appear in this 'prepositional' function in the earliest Classical Arabic.

18.204 (1) The ' in this word causes problems for lexicographers: in one dictionary it will be found under the root *w-r-*', as if the ' were the 3rd radical, in another under *w-r-y*, as if the ' were the reflex of *y* after a long vowel (cf. *samā'un* < **samāwun*, 3.62 n 2).

(2) See 26.33 n 2 on the phenomenon of enantiosema.

(3) S. 18 v 79; in similar contexts English can also be illogical as, for example, when we speak of a popular movement having the 'backing' of its 'leaders'. Not the inverted sentence structure: even the subject noun and predicate of *kāna* (10.11) must obey the rules for equational sentence, cf. 9.73 n 1.

18.205 (1) We are still in the realm of pure nouns, though *fawqa* has some peculiarities of its own, q.v. 18.41 n 2. But its nominal status is assured by the existence of a diminutive (3.421 n 1), e.g. *fuwayga s-saṭḥi* 'a little above the roof'.

18.206 (1) It may be worth pointing out that space qualifiers are not limited to their literal meaning, cf. *taḥta 'amrika* 'under your command' (and cf. also 1.704).

18.207 (1) Though a root *C-n-d* exists (with 'resist, oppose' among its meanings), Brockelmann, *Grundr.* II, 414, derives *Cinda* from **Cim* 'at' (cognate with *ma^Ca* 'with', 18.208) and a deictic element *d* 'there'. Nevertheless it retains nominal inflections (cf. 18.41), which suggests that for the Arabs, at least, it has come to be regarded as a regular noun. Note that, in common with several time qualifiers, *Cinda* combines with *mā* 'what' (q.v. 5.89 n 2) to form a conjunction 'when'. Beeston 57; Fleisch 208.

18.208 (1) This is the first in our list of nouns which has nearly lost its nominal quality and become, in effect, a preposition, though it retains one nominal feature, viz. that it may occur with *tanwīn*, e.g. *siṛnā ma^Can* 'we travelled together'. See previous note for etymological connections, and 26.27 n 1 on *ma^Ca* paraphrasing the verb 'to have'. Note also *ma^Ciyya* 'withness', 25.0 n 1.

18.209 (1) This is a difficult word for scribes, hence the spelling instructions (3.44 n 2): long before aš-Širbīnī's time Classical Arabic *q* had fallen together with *z* in the pronunciation of learned or literary words, and a hypercorrect spelling '*iqā'a*' would probably have resulted here, by confusion with '*iqā*'.

(2) From the beginning of 18.111 to *yamīnūn* in 18.214 (marked * in the text and translation) is missing from MS C. and has been restored from MS D. To preserve the folio sequence of MS C. for purposes of cross-reference, however, a folio 55c has been arbitrarily created.

18.210 (1) Yet another difficult word (one marvels at the choice, seeing that such common space qualifiers as *bayna* 'between', *dūna* 'beyond, without' etc. are not mentioned, q.v. 18.214 n 1).

18.211 (1) The prefix of this word seems to show dissimilation of *ta* to *ti* (so Fleisch 83, Tr. #92d), though whether, as Fleisch suggests, this was helped by the existence of synonyms with identical vowels (in this case *liqā'a*), or whether there was pressure from functionally similar words such as '*izā'a*', *hiqā'a* etc. is an open question. Note *tujāha* 'opposite', where the prefix *tu* appears to retain the quality of the 1st rad. *w* of this word (<**tawjāha*?).

18.212 (1) *ism* '*išāra*', cf. 11.73 n 1: it is a combination of deictic elements *h* and *n* (Fleisch 144); the final *ā* is a mystery (one might expect **hunan*), perhaps it is to be compared with '*iḡā*', 5.43 n 1.

(2) Parallel with the demonstratives (11.73) there is a series *hunā*, *hunāka*, *hunālika* for near, middle and remote distance respectively (Fleisch 144, where also other variants).

18.213 (1) The spelling instructions (3.44 n 2) serve to distinguish *ṭamma* from *ṭumma* 'then' (q.v. 12.3; evidently not etymologically related to *ṭamma*). Cf. Fleisch 146. On the imperative *ijlis* cf. 13.12 n 1.

18.214 (1) Several other space qualifiers can be added to the list, e.g. *bayna* 'between', *dūna* 'beyond, without', *ḥawla* 'around', *dākila* 'inside', *kārija* 'outside' (the last two being agent nouns, scil. 'in that which is inside/outside' or 'being inside/outside'), *kilāla* 'during, between' (lit. 'in the gaps of'), *qibala* 'opposite' (cf. 18.211 n 1), *ladā* 'at, with' (final *a* like '*ilā*', 1.702, so *ladayka* 'with you'), *ladun*, variant of *ladā* (18.106 n 2). Brockelmann, *Grundr.* I, 466, regards the future particle *sawfa* (1.82) as an old 'adverb'.

(2) Though defined by annexation (11.761) these may not occur with the def. article alone: 'I sat on the right' has to be personalized or otherwise made specific, viz. *jalastu yamīnahu* 'I sat on the right of him (or it)'. Contrast *jalastu yamīnan* (undef.) 'I sat right'.

(3) Even when space/time qualifiers occur in verbless sentences, e.g. *baytuka yamīna baytī* 'your house is to the right of my house', an underlying verb or equivalent is assumed (9.74, but see 19.25 n 1).

18.3 (1) 'Accidentally happen to denote' renders *ʿaraḍat dalālatuhu*, lit. 'its denotation occurred fortuitously'. Behind this expression lurks the philosophical antithesis between 'substance' (*jawhar*) and 'accident' (*ʿaraḍ*). Cf. *ʿāriḍa* 'accidental' in 5.1, also 5.88 n 4.

18.31 (1) Note first that the cardinal numbers are all nouns, which in part explains the peculiarities of their syntax (see further 20.21-22).

The relationship between the numeral and the counted can best be seen in a literal translation: 'I travelled twenty (in units of a) day and thirty (in units of a) parasang', the actual units being expressed as 'specifying elements' (*mumayyiz*, q.v. 20.0). Cf. also 17.62.

(2) Only the numbers from 11 to 99 are followed by specifying elements, the remainder being annexed to the counted noun, e.g. *sirtu talātata 'ayyāmin wa-talātata farāsiḡa* 'I travelled three days and three parasangs'. It is not clear why aš-Širbīnī (following al-Azharī, *Taṣr.* I, 338) omits to mention the other numbers either here or in 18.32, where they could easily have been accommodated.

18.32 (1) Cf. 11.721 n 4 on the formation of abstract nouns with the *iyya* suffix (*kulliyya* 'totality' from *kull* 'all', likewise *juz'iyya* 'partiality' from *juz'* 'part'). See 13.4, 17.64 on *kull* etc.

(2) Here may be included fractions, e.g. *sirtu ṭulṭa l-yawmi* 'I travelled a third of the day' etc. Cf. also 12.41, 14.21 n 1, 17.65.

(3) The examples are all of defined nouns of specific time (18.113): undefined examples are *sirtu kulla yawmin* 'I travelled every day' (cf. 13.4 n 6), *baḡda yawmin* 'for part of a day' (cf. 12.41), *niṣfa yawmin* 'for half a day'. Nouns of vague time (18.112) never have *kull* etc. annexed to them: for 'all the time' Classical Arabic uses various verbs, q.v. 10.19-22, while in modern Arabic an impersonal form of the circumstantial qualifier has evolved, viz. *dā'iman*, 'lastingly', agent noun of *dāma* 'to last, remain' (10.23), which remains masc. sing. regardless of the antecedent (contrast 19.21 n 1). 'All the time' as a conjunction is *kullamā*, i.e. *kull* 'all' with the indefinite relative suffix *mā* 'what, that' (cf. 5.89 n 2).

18.33 (1) Note that *ḡarbiyya* can be made specific by annexing it to *ad-dāri* (scil. 'at the western point of the house'), while *ṭawīlan* cannot be made specific, because it cannot be annexed to a noun of specific time (18.113: **ṭawīla s-sā'ati* 'long of hour' does not occur). Instead it is explained by a partitive phrase, scil. 'something long, from time', the article of *ad-dahri* here being the generic article (11.741).

18.34 (1) See 3.0 n 2 on 'aṣl 'original'; 26.7 on annexation. In *waḡta ṣalāti l-ḡaṣri*, *waḡta* (marked as a time qualifier) is annexed to *ṣalāti*: when *waḡta* is dropped *ṣalāti* (marked as annexing element) becomes *salāta*, now marked as time qualifier. Note that *waḡta ṣ-ṣalāti* 'at the time of the prayer' and *ṣalāta l-ḡaṣri* 'at evening prayer' are possible, but not *aṣ-ṣalāta* or *al-waḡta* alone (18.112 n 1).

(2) Commoner is the periphrasis *bi-qurbi zaydin* lit. 'in the nearness of Zayd', or the adjectival *qarīban min zaydin* 'near to Zayd', with the same structure as 18.33, scil. an understood *makānan qarīban* 'in a near place'.

18.4 (1) 'Fully current' is *mutaṣarriḡ*, lit. 'circulating freely', synonym of *munṣarriḡ* and *mutamakkin*, q.v. 1.41, 3.87 n 3. Here the emphasis is not so much on the morphology (viz. ability to bear the

marker *tanwīn*), but on the syntactical freedom associated with *tanwīn* and inventoried in the ensuing lines. Note overlap of morphological and syntactic terminology (cf. 1.41 n 4, 17.1). See also Diem, *Oriens* 23/4 321.

(2) This flexibility is one of the features which distinguishes space/time qualifiers from prepositions. Theoretically the former are all nouns (*hunā*, 18.212 and *amma*, 18.213 are problematical, but are at least morphologically similar to dep. nouns), while the latter are not only mostly biliterals (i.e. outside the root system, cf. 26.26 n 1), but also have only one function (scil. can only occur with a following oblique noun, cf. 1.7). Cf. Beeston 88; Bateson 44.

18.41 (1) 'Not freely current' is *ḡayr mutaṣarrif* (*ḡayr* 'not', 21.42, and see 18.4 n 1 on *mutaṣarrif*). As the examples show, these elements neither have *tanwīn* nor the syntactical freedom it implies.

(2) A class of nouns as yet unexplained is the seemingly fossilized locatives in *u*, e.g. *ba^cdu* 'afterwards', *qablu* 'before', *fawqu* 'above', *ḥayṭu* 'where, when' (cf. Reckendorf, *Synt. Verh.* 14, Fleisch, *Tr.* #149b, Lekiasvili, *Arch. Or.* 39, 62). These have come to be known as *ḡāyāt* 'limits, ends' because they cannot be followed by an annexing element (v. *Muf.* #201), but this is probably a misunderstanding of *Sībawayhi* (*Kitāb* II, 44), since it is clear that *ḡāyāt* for him also applied to the rest of the space/time qualifiers (id. I, 207). Note also invariable compounds *layla nahāra* 'night and day', *bayta bayta* 'house to house' etc., and numerals 13-19 (20.22 n 1(a)).

(3) Numerous examples in Reckendorf, *Ar. Synt.* 221, Nöldeke 51; one in *aš-Širbīnī*, 5.41 end. Because only *min* is found in this position it is regarded as the archetype of all prepositions (26.21 n 1).

18.5 (1) The other is the time qualifier, already dealt with (18.1) as the third kind of dependent element. It is important to distinguish between functional category *ism zamān/ism makān* 'noun of time/noun of place' and formal category *ism al-marra/ism makān* 'noun of time/noun of place': see 17.62 n 1, 17.7 n 3 on *ism al-marra*. The 'noun of place' mostly has the pattern *ma^cal*, e.g. *mašrab* 'drinking place', Fleisch 85; Yushmanov 36; Bateson 18; *Muf.* #361.

19.0 (1) *Jum.* 47; *Muf.* #74; *Alf.* v 332; *Qaṭr* 257; Beeston 89, 95; Fleisch 181; Bateson 47; Yushmanov 75. Terminology 19.21 n 2. Note that this chapter deals only with nouns as circumstantial qualifiers: see 19.9 n 1 for sentences as circumstantial qualifiers.

(2) See 3.421 n 1 on the diminutive. The reduction of the sequence *awa* (and *aya*) to *ā* is a regular feature, most noticeable in the 'hollow verbs' (cf. 8.2 n 5). 'Converted' is literal for *munqalibatun*, cf. the cognate *taqlibu* 'converts', *qalbun* 'conversion' in 5.71, showing again how morphological and syntactical terms form a continuum (cf. 1.5 n 3).

(3) The examples show *ḥālun* as masculine or unmarked feminine (cf. 11.43 n 3): the marked fem. *ḥālatun* exists in free variation with *ḥālun* (cf. 11.2 n 1), but does not depart from its marked gender.

19.1 (1) 'Structurally redundant' is *faḍla*, lit. 'a surplus', i.e. outside the minimal sentence (q.v. 20.01 n 1); the equation dependence = structural redundancy was axiomatic for Sībawayhi (Carter, *B.S.O.A.S.* 35, 491), but *faḍla* does not appear to be in use before al-Mubarrad (d. 898), e.g. *Muqtaḍab* III, 116, 121). It must not be confused with *mulḡā* 'neutralized', 5.431 n 3. See also 15.06 n 1; 19.6; 25.1.

(2) i.e. verbal nouns, agent nouns, patient nouns, see 19.25.

(3) 'Exterior aspects' renders *hay'āt*, lit. 'forms, states', in its sing. *hay'a* a term borrowed from philosophy (perhaps no earlier than az-Zamakhsharī, e.g. *Muf.* #74). In some contexts it is virtually a synonym of *ḥāl* (cf. *E.I.* (2), art. 'Hay'a', esp. 301b infra), and our present translation reflects more the need to contrast the functions of *ḥāl* and *tamyīz* (q.v. 20.01) than to avoid the circularity of Ibn Ājurrūm's formulation.

19.21 (1) It is taken for granted by aš-Širbīnī that the reader will know the concordance rules for the circumstantial qualifier, viz. that it has the number and gender of its antecedent but is always undefined (19.5) and dependent. Apart from the obligatory dependent form, the circumstantial qualifier thus follows the same rules as the predicate of an equational sentence, see further 19.7.

(2) Terminology: 'antecedent' is *ṣāhib al-ḥāl* or *qū l-ḥāl*, both lit. 'owner of the circumstance', and 'circumstantial qualifier' is simply *ḥāl*, lit. 'circumstance, situation' (it is a fair comment that *ḥāl* would be more accurately translated 'situational qualifier' here, but 'circumstantial' seems to be favoured, e.g. Wright, Cantarino, Bateson etc.). Against Merx's claim (loc. cit. 18.101 n 1) that *ḥāl* must be a borrowed term because Sībawayhi uses it without explanation (!), we should consider the likelihood that *ḥāl* was not a technical term at all for Sībawayhi, which is why al-Mubarrad (*Muqtaḍab* IV, 166) has to make a special point of ensuring that it is recognized as such.

19.22 (1) 'Unambiguously qualifying' here and in 19.21 renders *naṣṣan*, lit. 'as a clarification, proof-text', but explained by Abū n-Najā (fl. 1808) in his Commentary on al-Azharī, Āj. 84 (which aš-Širbīnī is now quoting) as intended to contrast these instances of the circumstantial qualifier with the ambiguous type in 19.23.

(2) This has been read as the Stem IV patient noun (q.v. 10.34 n 1) in preference to the synonymous Stem II *musarrajan* because the latter,

though indistinguishable in a text without diacriticals, is evidently a post-classical form.

19.23 (1) There seems to be no convention which would make reference to one or the other of the antecedents more likely (cf. Reckendorf, *Ar. Synt.* 98), but ambiguity can always be avoided by using the sentence type of circumstantial qualifier (q.v. 19.9 n 1), thus *laqītu ʿabdallāhi wa-ʿanā rākibun* 'I met ʿAbdullāh while I was riding' or *wa-huwa rākibun* 'while he was riding', alternatively *laqītu ʿabdallāhi ʾarkabu* 'I met ʿAbdullāh, I riding' or *yarkabu* 'he riding'.

(2) See 10.14 n 2 on this type of weak 3rd rad. verb, and note the convention of referring to the verb in its 3rd masc. sing. past tense (3.52 n 3).

19.24 (1) Being dual, *rākibayni* can only refer to both individual antecedents together, the same as in the equational sentence *ʿanā wa-zaydun rākibāni* 'Zayd and I are (both) riding' (cf. 19.5). Note this example from Reckendorf, *Ar. Synt.* 98: *ʾinna sawfa tudrikunā l-manāyā muqaddaratan lanā wa-muqaddarīna (lahā)* 'verily the fates will catch up with us, they predestined for us and we predestined (for them)', with two antecedents and two circumstantial qualifiers in parallel.

19.25 (1) Later grammarians (and those who relied on them, e.g. Jahn, n 8 to #110, = *Kitāb I*, 230) were reluctant to accept that dep. forms could occur without at least an implicit verb (cf. 16.311 n 1). But for Sībawayhi many dep. forms were the result of the operation of a previous complete utterance (Carter, *B.S.O.A.S.* 35, 491), requiring no assumed verb, e.g. *huwa nārun ḥumratan* 'he is a fire in redness', *hādā baʿlī šaykan* 'this is my husband, an old man' (S. 11 v 72; see also *Muf.* #79; Nöldeke 49).

(2) Intransitive verbs, as well as passive verbs (e.g. *qutila nāʾiman* 'he was killed sleeping', cf. also 8.0) operate on all dependent noun classes except direct objects (16.309 n 1).

(3) S. 49 v 12.

19.3 (1) See 3.65 n 12 on *ḡālib* 'predominant usage'; 19.31 n 1 on *muštaqq* 'derived'; 19.32 n 1 on *mufāriq* 'transient'. On the formal classes of nouns see also 20.7 n 1.

19.31 (1) 'Derived', *muštaqq*, contrasts with *jāmid* 'underived', q.v. 20.7 n 1, and refers to the insertion of radicals into one or another of the patterns in which nouns occur (see 10.37 n 1). Each pattern has its own 'meaning' (*maʿnā*), translated here 'semantic function' in keeping with the use of *maʿnā* to denote the 'meanings' of particles (cf. 1.701 n 2), of nominal and verbal inflections (2.2 nn 5, 6), and of the imperfect tense verb (5.02).

(2) See 10.34 n 1 on the formal categories of agent and patient noun, and contrast *fāʿil* 'agent' and *mafʿūl* 'patient' as functional categories in chs. 7 and 16 respectively. On the 'quasi-participial

adjective', *aş-şifa l-muşabbaha li-l-fi^Cl* (lit. 'the adjective made to resemble the verb') see 26.92 n 2, and for the 'relative noun', *ism at-tafqīl*, see 20.4 n 1. Cf. also 19.33 n 1.

19.32 (1) 'Transient', *mufāriq* (lit. 'going away') contrasts with *mulāzim* 'inherent' (lit. 'adhering', cognate with *lāzim* 'intransitive' 16.309 n 1), both introduced relatively late into definitions of the circumstantial qualifier (e.g. *Alf.* v 333, perhaps developing an idea of al-Astarābādī, op. cit. 1.23 n 1, I, 182, as both use *muntaqil* 'mobile' instead of *mufāriq*).

19.33 (1) See 20.7 n 1 on underived nouns. The 'verbal noun' (*maṣḍar*) may also occur as a circumstantial qualifier, e.g. *qataltuhu ṣabran* 'I killed him in bondage' (*Muf.* #76, and see 24.52 n 2); perhaps it has been omitted from the list of 'derived nouns' in 19.31 because of its disputed status as the source of all verbal paradigms (17.1 n 2).

(2) Another example in 13.14, *Callamtuhu n-naḥwa bāban bāban* 'I taught him grammar chapter by chapter'. Cf. 12.2 n 2 on *tartīb* 'ordering', and see 19.51 for ordered circumstantial qualifiers of defined form.

(3) Note the 'bi of price' (*bā' at-taman*, a function of *bi* 'with, by', q.v. 1.707), and cf. 9.03 n 5.

19.34 (1) This is another theological intrusion into grammar (cf. 5.751 n 1): it is blasphemous to imply that a quality of God is not inherent in His nature. By the same token, an exception can be made in the case of S. 4 v 28, *ḵaliqa l-'insānu ḍa^Cifan* 'man was created weak' (quoted 11.741), with an inherent quality as a circumstantial qualifier because mankind is inherently weak (cf. al-Uṣmūnī on *Alf.* v 333 who, however, attributes the dep. form to the repetitiousness of creation).

(2) This curious sentence is found in the earliest grammar, viz. *Kitāb* I, 77, where it is attributed to 'someone whose Arabic is trustworthy', i.e. a Beduin informant. Surprisingly, however, it did not attract the attention of Sībawayhi's most copious commentator (as-Sīrāfī, d. 978), nor of any of the relatively early grammarians: it seems to have been resurrected only about the time of Ibn Hišām (d. 1360, e.g. in al-Azharī, *Taṣr.* I, 368, on which aṣ-Širbīnī is clearly drawing). Be it noted, however, that for Sībawayhi this sentence did not exemplify an inherent type of circumstantial qualifier, but simply the attraction into dependent form of an entire clause in apposition to a dependent noun, perhaps influenced by the fact that *ḵalafa* 'to create' may sometimes be doubly transitive (see 10.69, and cf. 16.310 n 1).

(3) See 14.2 on partial substitution, *badal al-ba^Cd min al-kull*.

(4) See 5.82 n 6 on *muta^Calliq* 'semantically connected'.

19.4 (1) See 19.31 for the equivalents. Note, however, that the operator of the so-called 'emphatic circumstantial qualifier', *al-ḥāl al-mu'akkida* is deemed to be the previous complete utterance, e.g. S. 2 v 91, *huwa l-ḥaqqu muṣaddiqan...* 'it is the truth, verifying...' (see also 19.25 n 1).

19.5 (1) As we shall see (19.6), circumstantial qualifiers are really predicates of their antecedents: normally only derived nouns (*muštaqq*, v. 19.31) may function as circumstantial qualifiers because derived nouns are by nature predicative, i.e. can always be paraphrased by a verb, e.g. *rākibun* 'riding' = *yarkubu* 'he rides', *musrajun* 'saddled' = '*usrija* 'he has been saddled' etc., see further 11.45 n 1. Herein lies the difference between 'nouns' and 'adjectives', cf. 11.61 n 1.

(2) 'Correlation' is expressed by *ḥamala*, lit. 'to carry', see further 23.411 n 2. Observe how discongruence in definition is a predicate marker (cf. 9.12 n 2), while congruence is an attribute marker, e.g. *rakibtu l-farasa l-musraja* 'I rode the saddled horse'. Cf. 18.102 n 2.

19.51 (1) Lit. 'enter, as the first and then the first'; in '*udkulū* 'enter' (masc. plur.) the first vowel is present to break up the initial consonant cluster of the imperative and harmonizes with the internal vowel of the stem (5.2 n 3, and cf. 22.1 n 1).

(2) Lit. 'he came back with his return on his beginning'; note the vowel harmony in the possessive suffix *hu/hi* 'his' (13.9 n 9). It is annexation to this suffix which causes definition, v. 11.76.

(3) See 17.51 n 1 on similar problems of derivation, here embodied in the familiar antithesis of *lafẓ* 'form' and *maʿnā* 'meaning' (2.1 n 2).

(4) See 7.58 n 1 on concealed agent pronouns.

(5) There can be little doubt that *waḥdahu* is defined by its annexation to the possessive pronoun (11.76), but there is a type of annexation which does not confer definition (q.v. 26.92-93), and circumstantial qualifiers such as *waqafa ʿamāmahu maktūfa l-yadayni* 'he stood before him, arms crossed', lit. 'crossed of arms', are clearly undefined (cf. Cantarino, II, 191). Corroboratives such as '*ajmaʿīna* 'all together' in dependent form (Cantarino II, 189) might also belong here, in view of their intrinsic definition (13.6 n 1).

19.6 (1) Ibn Ājurrūm's formulation retains the term *kalām* 'utterance', the original descriptive title for the minimal meaningful unit of discourse (cf. 1.1 and 1.13 n 1). Later grammarians, however, (*Muf.* #74, *Qaṭr* 259) often prefer the term *jumla* 'sentence', lit. 'aggregate', first used, it appears, about the time of al-Mubarrad (d. 898, e.g. *Muqtaḍab* II, 12, 17, 61, 310, III, 34, 279 etc.). This term, along with such notions as 'informativeness' (*fāʿida*, cf. 1.13 n 1) and falsifiability (see 9.11 n 1), reveals the penetration of philosophical ideas into grammar: 'sentence' eventually becomes indistinguishable from 'proposition', cf. Elamrani-Jamal, *Arabica* 26, 76.

(2) Perhaps from an undue concern with 'informativeness' (see above), the direct object is here regarded as an indispensable element, even though, from a strictly structural point of view, verb and agent alone are sufficient (cf. 7.9 n 1). The examples referred to are in 19.21 etc.

(3) 'Self-sufficient with regard to meaning' is lit. for *mustaḡnin min*

jihati l-ma^Cnā, the semantic correlative of structural correctness (*ḥusn* 'goodness', see 12.91 n 8): an utterance which both contains the minimal number of elements (two) and satisfies the listener's need for information (cf. 1.13 n 3) is 'good for silence' *yaḥsunu s-sukūtu* *ʿalayhi* (1.13), unless, as here, semantic restraints are in force.

(4) *Schaw. Ind.* 5, add *al-Uṣmūnī* on *Alf.* v 332. Three kinds of circumstantial qualifier appear in this verse: (a) the quasi-participial adjective *ka'iban* (19.31), (b) the agent noun *kāsifan*, here not only predicative of its antecedent (19.7 n 2) but also, because it is a 'semantically linked' adjective (11.5, 11.51), qualifying *bāluhu* 'his plight', (c) the undefined annexation unit *qalīla r-rajā'i*, like *maktūfa l-yadayni* in 19.51 n 5.

19.7 (1) Note 'judged', lit. for *maḥkūm* (and cf. *ḥukm*, 24.1 n 2), a legal/philosophical borrowing (the boundaries are not as clear as Versteegh, 74 n 22 implies: *qaḍiyya* 'judicial verdict' is also a regular term for 'proposition', *al-Ḳwārizmī*, *Mafātīḥ al-ʿulūm*, 146).

(2) The predicative nature of the circumstantial qualifier has been recognized from the first: *Sībawayhi* termed it *ḵabar li-l-ma^Crifa* 'a predicate of the defined' (e.g. *Kitāb I*, 221, 233 etc.), evidently as part of a general scheme opposing attributives (*ṣifa* 'adjective') to predicatives (*ḵabar*) on the basis of concord (11.02) and discord (19.5 n 2) respectively (the whole topic needs further study, cf. Carter, *B.S.O.A.S.* 35, 488). Note how *Sībawayhi*'s original definition of a 'right' utterance reappears here in terms of 'informativeness' (1.13).

19.71 (1) 'Specialization', *taḵṣīṣ*, is an intermediate level between absolute indefinition and pure definition as set out in 11.7 et seq., and cf. Gätje, *Arabica* 17, 235f. In 9.81 it is seen that 'specialized' elements (i.e. qualified by adjectives, like *fulukin māḵirin* below) are sufficiently defined to function as subjects on nominal sentences (see further 26.91 for specialization by annexation, and contrast 19.51 n 5, where the very same 'specialization' is not enough, however, to make the circumstantial qualifier defined!).

(2) *S.* 41 v 10. Annexation of numerals does not confer definition (cf. 26.72 n 1); *sawā'an* could also be translated literally as 'straight', i.e. one after the other.

(3) *Schaw. Ind.* 279 (where wrongly *mašjūnan*; the verse invokes *S.* 37 v 140, 'When he (Jonah) ran away to the laden ship'): the dependent form *mašjūnan* is assured by the rhyme (5.88 n 4). Other points worth noting: *najjayta*, Stem II (8.61 n 1) of weak 3rd rad. *n-j-w* with regular change of *w* to *y* in augmented Stems; see 23.61 (a) on vocative *yā rabbi*; *wa-stajabta* shows juncture feature (11.1 n 2), viz. reduction of **wa-istajabta* (Stem X, 8.72 n 1 of 'hollow' stem *j-w-b*, 8.73 n 1); in *al-yamm* is seen an arbitrary doubling of the second radical to create a trilateral root from an original biliteral, cf. 4.71 n 1.

(4) See 3.44 n 2 on spelling instructions, and cf. 13.45 n 3.

19.72 (1) 'Generalization' is *ta^Cmīm*, cognate with *ʿamma* in 13.4. The

condition of general negation is, not surprisingly, also applicable to equational sentences with undefined subjects (though not mentioned in 9.81) e.g. *lā šāḥiba ʿilmin mamqūtun* 'no possessor of knowledge is despised' (22.11 n 1).

(2) S. 26 v 208; note the partitive *min* after the negative (cf. 7.11 n 2). The circumstantial qualifier in this verse is a nominal sentence (see further 19.9 n 1), showing inversion of subject and predicate because the former is undefined (9.73 n 1) and probably influenced by the need to maintain the rhyme *ūna/īna* of the verses in this passage.

(3) See 5.76 on *nahy* 'prohibition' and negation in general.

(4) This forms part of *Alf.* v 339, and it is not clear whether it is a 'saying' proper or whether *aš-Širbīnī's qawluhum* simply means 'what they (i.e. grammarians) say'. Its most interesting feature is without doubt the word *imru'un* 'man': this displays a rare regressive vowel harmony with repetition of the inflectional vowel in the interior of the word, thus *imra'an*, *imri'in* (cf. Fleisch, *Tr.* #77a n 2, and see 5.2 n 3, 13.9 n 6 on regular vowel harmony). Moreover *imru'un* (with normal juncture feature of initial vowel, q.v. 13.12 n 1) alternates with a dissimilated form *mar'un* which, however, has no vowel harmony.

19.73 (1) 'Inversion' is here *ta'kīr* 'retarding', more comprehensively styled *taqdīm wa-ta'kīr* 'advancing and retarding', q.v. 2.13 n 1. The choice of *ta'kīr* is dictated by the fact that it is the delaying of the antecedent which is under consideration: the circumstantial qualifier is not so much 'advanced' as simply fitted into the vacant (i.e. structurally redundant) gap between defined predicate and undefined subject (q.v. 9.73 n 1).

19.74 (1) 'Particular justification' is a free translation of *musawwiḡ*, lit. 'that which makes allowable', a synonym of *jā'iz* (q.v. 9.8 n 2) used but rarely by *Sībawayhi* (*Troupeau*, *Lex.-Index*, s-w-ḡ), but a favorite of the later, more prescriptive grammarians.

(2) *Mālik ibn Anas*, famous early jurist of Medina, d. 795 (Brockelmann, *G.A.L.* I, 175, Sezgin, *G.A.S.* I, 457). His collection of Traditions (1.01 n 4) is gathered in the book here cited, *al-Muwaṭṭa'*, the title meaning 'the well-trodden path' (cf. Carter, *J.A.O.S.* 93, 147 for synonyms of 'path, way' in the context of grammar). The Tradition here adduced (which *aš-Širbīnī* has from *al-Azharī*, *Taṣr.* I, 378) does not occur in that exact form in published editions of the *Muwaṭṭa'*, but see the Karachi ed. 1962, 113 and Wensinck, *Concordance* V, 490.

19.8 (1) 'Indicated by the context of discourse' is *li-dalīl lafẓī*, lit. 'because of some formal pointer', namely the verb *ji'ta* 'you came' in the question actually asked, which is then understood as the operator on the circumstantial qualifier *rākiban* 'riding' uttered alone. Cf. 17.7 n 2, *dalīl maqālī*, synonymous with *dalīl lafẓī*.

(2) '(Indicated by) the context of situation' is *li-dalīl ḥālī*, lit. 'because of some situational pointer'. Not to be confused with the 'language of situation' (1.1 n 3), this aspect of linguistic form has

been well recognized and exploited from the first, e.g. *Kitāb* I, 109, 157 etc., and cf. 16.311 n 1. On elision, *ḥaḍf*, see 3.73 n 2.

19.81 (1) Even grammarians must occasionally admit the special status of proverbs (e.g. *Kitāb* I, 24, 147, 302 etc.).

(2) Any restitution of a missing verb in a proverbial expression is, of course, purely arbitrary. By the same token it would be artificial to restore the time qualifier *marratan* 'once' (18.113 n 1) implied by the fem. 'ukrā 'other'.

19.82 (1) Another example has already been discussed in 19.6.

(2) On one level, if *rākiban* 'riding' is to be the whole of the answer in accordance with 19.8, then it can hardly be elided! It would have been better if the text had given the complete answer *ji'tu rākiban*, in order to demonstrate that a reply *ji'tu* 'I came' alone would fail to satisfy the requirements of a correct utterance (1.13, 1.15).

(3) See 21.3 on this type of exceptive sentence, and cf. the synonymous 'innamā *jā'a rākiban* 'he came only riding' ('innamā, 9.83 n 2).

(4) The underlying structure is assumed to be **ḍarbī zaydan ḍarbī 'iyyāhu qā'iman* 'my striking of Zayd is my striking of him while standing' (see 16.312 n 1 on the operation of the verbal noun).

(5) S. 4 v 43; see 19.9 n 1 on the syntax.

19.9 (1) Because they are not nouns, circumstantial qualifiers in the form of sentences are not dealt with in this chapter. Both nominal and verbal sentences (9.24 n 2) have this function, however: verbal sentences are asyndetic, e.g. *jā'a zaydun yarkabu* 'Zayd came riding', while nominal sentences are normally introduced by *wa* 'and', e.g. *jā'a zaydun wa-huwa rākibun* 'Zayd came (and he) riding' (other examples: *wa-'antum sukārā* 'while you are drunk' in 19.82, *wa-'antum cākifūna* 'while you are secluded' in 1.705, *wa-š-šamsu tāli^catun* 'while the sun is rising' in 25.22; *Muf.* #80; *Alf.* v 351; Beeston 89; Fleisch 182.

(2) See 20.01 for the differences between the circumstantial qualifier and the specifying element.

20.0 (1) *Jum.* 245; *Muf.* #83; *Alf.* v 356; *Qaṭr* 263; Beeston 60; Fleisch 185; Nöldeke 39. The range of terminology (see further n 2) gives an impression of the way in which an originally ill-defined grammatical feature can, through the development of pedagogical grammar, acquire a specific identity and place in the system (cf. the treatment of the

'substitution of error' in 14.4, the 'wa of accompaniment' in ch. 25 (esp. 25.31 n 1), and see also 25.6 n 1.

(2) See 1.1 n 2 on 'lexical' and 'technical'. Of the terms listed here only *tamyīz* is common, and may denote both the specifying function and the specifying element (cf. *badal*, 14.0). *Sībawayhi* has no specific name for this construction, but treats it as a subdivision of the circumstantial qualifier (*Kitāb* I, 275); *tamyīz* as a technical term seems to appear for the first time in al-Mubarrad, *Muqtaḍab* II, 149, 168, 173 etc., and cf. *Jum.* 77 for *mubayyin*, *tamyīz* and *tafsīr* all together.

20.01 (1) 'Structurally indispensable' is *ʿumda*, lit. 'support, prop', antonym of *faḍla* 'redundant element' (19.1) and likewise not found in the earliest grammar. It refers to the fact that the minimal sentence comprises two elements (see 1.13), each indispensable to the other. This is most obvious in the equational sentence, since the uttering of a subject obliges the speaker to complete his utterance with a predicate (9.12 n 2): *ṣarbal* sentences are also predicative (3.73 n 5), but their agents are in any case bound morphemes (7.9 n 1; cf. 21.31 n 1).

(2) Cf. 23.1 n 2 on *ḡāt* 'entity, being', plur. *ḡawāt*, contrasting with *hay'āt*, the 'exterior aspects' indicated by circumstantial qualifiers (19.1 n 3). Other main differences between the two are: specifying element may only be a noun (not sentence or prepositional phrase); circumstantial qualifier sometimes indispensable; there may be more than one circumstantial qualifier; specifying element may not be inverted; specifying element is normally an underived noun; (al-Uṣmūnī on *Alf.* v 363).

20.02 (1) See 11.721 n 4 on *nisba* in its primary meaning of 'blood relationship': in the present chapter it has the sense of 'logical relationship' (cf. *mansūbayni* 'two things attributed', 12.5 n 2). For 'converted from the original agent' see 20.11 nn 2, 3.

20.11 (1) Cf. 7.21 on the parsing; the verb in this example is a Stem V (8.64 n 1), 'doubled verb' (11.3 n 1), root *ṣ-b-b*.

(2) See 8.2 n 3 on *ʿaṣl*, lit. 'root, base, etc.', and note how, in the following analysis, the technique has strong similarities with our present notions of deep structure and transformation.

(3) The term here is *ḥawwala* 'to transform, change' (Stem II of the 'hollow verb' *ḥ-w-l*, 8.73 n 1), though in 8.2 etc., in the context of the transformation of active to passive verbs, the preferred word is *naqala*, lit. 'to carry over'.

(4) See 3.73 n 5 for verbs as predicates of their agents, 26.7 for annexation.

(5) Direct objects converted into specifying elements, 20.8 (2). Note how, in aṣ-Širbīnī's text (adapted from al-Azharī, *Āj.* 86), both the intransitive *jā'a bi* 'to come with, bring' (5.82 n 5) and the doubly transitive *ja'ala* 'to make' (10.69) appear as impersonal passives, viz. *jī'a bi* 'is brought' and *ju'ila tamyīzan* 'is made a specifying element', the latter retaining its second direct object (cf. 8.0 n 5).

20.12 (1) The lexical glosses here and above suggest that *taṣabbaba* and *tafaqqa'a* were no longer readily understood. Sībawayhi, *Kitāb* I, 105, uses the example with *tafaqqa'a*, but few later grammarians seem to have bothered with it (only *Muf.* #83 from our group). In the light of 20.6 it seems odd that *tafaqqa'a* is here glossed as *imtala'a*!

(2) Lit. 'there has been done to it what was done with the first example', the verb being *ʿumila*, impersonal passive of the same verb which is used in 8.2 etc. to denote the 'operation' of converting active verbs to passive, see further 8.2 n 2.

20.13 (1) Normally *'iCrāb* denotes 'inflection', q.v. ch. 2, but is here used in its not uncommon sense of 'parsing', see also 8.21 n 1.

(2) Note that the verb must become feminine with *nafsun* as its agent: *nafsun* is a member of a fairly large class of unmarked feminine nouns. These comprise (a) parts of the body occurring in pairs, e.g. *ʿaynun* 'eye' (cf. 13.9, *ḡarajat ʿaynuhā* 'her eye went out', with fem. verb), *yadun* 'hand', *riḡlun* 'leg' etc. (very few exceptions), (b) words denoting females, e.g. *ʿajūzun* 'old woman', (c) names of countries, towns, e.g. *miṣru* 'Cairo, Egypt', (d) some which are fem. by convention, e.g. *nafsun* 'soul'. See Wright I, 177, 11.43 n 3.

(3) 'Motive' is *al-bāʿiṭ*, lit. 'the rouser, provoker'. Here we may be certain that rhetorical considerations are uppermost, but it should be borne in mind that the intentions of the speaker have always been recognized as a determinant of linguistic form, see 14.4 n 5.

20.21 (1) Not all numbers: only 11-99 fall into this group, being (a) those with a fixed *tanwīn* preventing annexation, viz. the decades from 20 to 90, (b) compound numerals whose second element has the status of *tanwīn*, also preventing annexation, viz. 11 to 19. See further n 4.

(2) This verb is a Stem VIII (8.68 n 1) from the 3rd weak radical root *ṣ-r-y*: its past tense conjugates like *raʿā* in 10.65 n 1, and its imperfect tense like *yarmī* in 4.82 n 1.

(3) See 3.71 on *ī* as an allomorph of *a*.

(4) The decades 20-90 are formally sound masc. plurals (see 3.412 (a)) which never occur without *tanwīn*: the phrase *ʿiṣrūna dirhaman* '20 dirhams' is chosen by Sībawayhi as an explanatory model for structures in which annexation is prevented for whatever reason (see Carter, *B.S.O.A.S.* 35, 487).

20.22 (1) The syntax of numerals is complex: see *Jum.* 137; *Muf.* #313; *Alf.* v 726; *Qaṭr* 362; Beeston 61; Fleisch 94; Yushmanov 71; Hetzron, *J.S.S.* 12, 180. Setting aside '1' and '2', which are pure adjectives, the variables may be summarized as follows:

(a) all units (except '-1', '-2') are marked with the gender opposite to that of their counted nouns; '11' and '12' agree in gender with the noun in both tens and units, '13' to '19' agree in tens only; all numerals are fully inflected except the invariable compounds '11', '13' to '19' and the ten element of '12', which all end in *a*.

(b) after '3' to '10' counted nouns have plur. oblique form; after '11' to '99' they have sing. dependent form; after '100' upwards they have sing. oblique form, all determined by the last numeral in the series.

Most of the above principles are illustrated in the examples given in 17.62, 18.31, 19.71, 20.6, 23.45. See also 26.72 n 2.

20.3 (1) Note *ḥindī* 'with me' = 'I have' (see 18.207 on *ḥinda*, 3.421 n 3 on suffix *ī*), a regular use of the space qualifier to denote possession (cf. also *maḥa*, 18.208, *li*, 26.27).

(2) See 9.73 n 1 on this inversion. According to Fleischer, *Kl. Schr.* I, 569, *raṭl* is a metathesized borrowing of Greek *litra* 'a pound'.

(3) Although according to 9.74 these verbless sentences contain an implicit verb, the operation of a self-sufficient utterance is enough to account for the dependent form (see 19.25 n 1).

(4) 'Implicit original form' is a free translation of *taqdīr*, lit. 'estimation' (q.v. 2.101 n 1). See 26.93 n 1 on annexed form *manawā*.

20.4 (1) It will be recognized that the topic here is the comparative adjective. In Arabic both comparative and superlative adjectives are formally identical (cf. 3.411 nn 6, 7, 3.89 n 10) and are termed *ism at-taḥḍīl*, lit. 'the noun of causing to excel', usually rendered 'relative'. The comparative and superlative senses are revealed by differences of syntax: see 20.42 n 2 on comparatives and 20.42 n 3 on superlatives. General references: *Muf.* #118; *Alf.* v 496; *Qaṭr* 316; Beeston 57; Fleisch 188, *Tr.* #89e.

(2) i.e. in 20.11-13.

20.41 (1) There is a difference here between the specifying element and the circumstantial qualifier which, though it is implied by the differences enumerated in 20.01 n 2, does not seem to have attracted the grammarians' attention: as the circumstantial qualifier is essentially a predicate of its antecedent (19.7), so the specifying element is an agent or subject (*raṭlun zaytan* in 20.3 can be paraphrased as *az-zaytu raṭlun* 'the oil is a rotl-weight', like *aṭ-ṭawbu kazzun* 'the garment is silk', q.v. 26.72. But see *Muf.* #87.

(2) These sentences are of the 'two-faced' (*ḡāt wajhayn*) type, q.v. 9.75 n 1. Note the stative verbs *karuma* 'to be noble', *jamula* 'to be handsome' (cf. Fleisch 117, dislikes the term 'stative'; Yushmanov 50, 10.22 n 2). Since the relative meaning is a property of the pattern *'aḥḥalu* (cf. 20.42 n 2), it cannot be shown in the verbal paraphrase.

20.42 (1) See 20.11 nn 2, 3 on the 'transformational' terminology of this paragraph.

(2) Comparative syntax: attributive use is not common (cf. Cantarino, II, 471), and in predicative use the form *'aḥḥal* is used for all genders and numbers (e.g. 9.23). Comparison is shown by collocation with a phrase introduced by *min*, freely translated as 'than' but ultimately a noun meaning 'part' which has become a preposition (1.701). Given

that the pattern (10.37 n 1) 'af^Cal originally had an intensifying function (see Beeston 57), our present examples might be reconstructed as 'Zayd's father is extremely noble on your part (scil. 'with respect to you')' and his face is extremely handsome on your part (scil. 'with respect to you')'. General refs. 20.4 n 1; other examples in text: 1.25, 5.411, 9.81, 11.754, 12.21, 19.34, 23.61 (c). On the irregular *kayr* 'better/best' etc. see 5.82 n 5.

(3) Superlative syntax: attributive use fairly common (e.g. *al-'asmā'u l-ḥusnā* 'the most beautiful names', 5.86), with full concordance (see 3.89 n 10). Predicatively and substantivally 'af^Cal is used, annexed to a noun or pronoun (same distribution as *kull*, 13.4 n 6), viz. (a) undefined sing., e.g. '*ajmalu wajhin* 'the most handsome face' (specifying annexation, 26.72), lit. 'the extremely handsome thing, consisting of a face'; (b) defined plur., e.g. '*ajmalu l-wujūhi* 'the most handsome of the faces' (partitive, also 26.72), lit. 'the extremely handsome thing among the faces'; (c) defined sing., e.g. '*akṭaru l-waḡti* 'most of the time' (particularization, 26.71). General refs. 20.4 n 1; other examples in text: 3.89 end, 10.65, 17.61, and cf. 5.82 n 5.

20.5 (1) See 9.4 n 3 on 'Kūfans'. *Inṣāf* does not record this debate, which aš-Širbīnī has taken from *al-Azhari*, *Taṣr.* I, 394.

(2) *Schaw. Ind.* 106, and add *Alf.* vv 108, 362, which allude to this verse, also *Abū Ḥayyān*, op. cit. 8.67 n 1, 34, 221. Cf. 20.13 on the regular construction, and note also: *ra'aytu* 'I saw' with double direct object, being a sentence (10.65), redundant 'an after *lammā* 'when' (5.413), assimilation of definite article *al* to *nafs* (11.41 n 2), *qaysu* without *tanwīn* in the vocative (23.41).

(3) This is the 'Baṣran' view. A third opinion is that *an-naḥḥa* is the direct object of *ṣadadta*: 'you turned--and were calm--yourself away'.

20.6 (1) This is adapted from an example in *Kitāb* I, 105, where it stands alongside *tafaḡḡa'tu ṣaḥman* 'I was bursting with fat' (see 20.12), with no indication that it is in any way different in kind from its neighbour. If an underlying form had to be found, it would require an external agent, e.g. *mala'a l-'inā'a mā'an* 'he filled the pot with water', not *mala'a l-mā'u l-'inā'a* 'the water filled the pot', v. 20.8.

(2) Cf. 1.14 n 1 on *wuḏi^Ca* 'conventionally established'; 'construction' is *tarkīb* (cognate with *murakkab* 'compound, complex, 1.12 n 1, note the continuity of morphological and syntactical terms, cf. 1.41 n 3), see other examples in 2.14, 5.02, 8.3. The formula *li-llāhi darruhu*, lit. 'to God belongs his abundance of milk' obviously defies explanation: see further 20.9 n 2 for this and similar exclamatory expressions, and see 20.7 n 2 for 'verbs of surprise', 'af^Cāl at-ta^Cajjub.

Note also 'interrogative *kam*' (*kam al-istifhāmiyya*, contrast 'predicative *kam*' in 26.61 n 1), 'how much/many', e.g. *kam kitāban laka* 'how many books do you have?' This requires a specifying element for two reasons: (a) because it denotes a vague number (cf. 20.21-22), and (b) because it can be separated from its noun (*kam laka kitāban*), which rules out annexation (cf. 20.21 n 4).

(3) *Schaw. Ind.* 276, and add Abū Ḥayyān, op. cit. 20.5 n 2, 393. This verse belongs to a couplet said to have been spoken by Abū Ṭālib, the uncle of the Prophet Muḥammad, demonstrating (according to the orthodox interpretation) that Abū Ṭālib remained a pagan in spite of a grudging admiration for Islām (cf. aš-Širbīnī's Qur'ān Commentary I, 19).

(4) S. 9 v 36. It may well be that the repetition of the word for 'months' is felt to be excessive (and therefore corroborative, cf. 13.11), but this hardly alters the explanatory function of *šahran*, which by its undefined sing. dependent form shows that it is operated on in the normal way by the numeral '12' (q.v. 20.22 n 1).

20.7 (1) 'Underived noun' is *ism jāmid*, lit. 'rigid noun', i.e. having no corresponding verb (hence no deverbative cognates such as participles etc.), contrasting with *ism muštaqq* 'derived noun', 19.31 n 1.

(2) 'Underived verb' is *fi^Cl jāmid*, lit. 'rigid verb', i.e. invariable and unproductive (there is doubt whether it ever was a true verb: cf. Fleisch 189 n 1). This is the 'verb of surprise', *fi^Cl at-ta^Cajjub*, and has either the form given here or a pseudo-imperative '*aḥsin bihi rajulan*'; *Jum.* 112; *Muf.* #477; *Alf.* v 474; *Qaṭr* 379. The verbs *ni^Cma*, *bi'sa* (5.11) can conveniently be included here, e.g. *ni^Cma r-rajulu zaydun* or *ni^Cma rajulan zaydun* 'What a good man Zayd is!'; *Jum.* 121; *Muf.* #468; *Alf.* v 485; *Qaṭr* 191.

(3) 'Freedom' renders *yatašarrafu* (see cognates in 1.41 n 1, 18.4 n 1, 18.41 n 1); *yatašarrafu fī nafsīhi* 'is free in itself' is understood as morphological, and *yatašarrafu fī ma^Cmūlihi* 'is free in what it operates on' as syntactical (cf. 2.11 n 1 on 'operation').

20.8 (1) Only the quantitative type (20.3) is left, e.g. *raṭlun min az-zaytī* 'a rotl-weight of oil', with 'explanatory *min*' (5.82 n 3). In *cišrūna min ad-darāḥimi* the *min* is now partitive (9.03 n 4) and the meaning is 'twenty of the dirhams' (*darāḥim*, plur.). The objection to **ḡarastu l-'arḍa min šajarin* is that it makes *al-'arḍa* look like the true direct object of *ḡarastu* when it is, in fact, only metaphorical (for *ḡarastu šajaran fī l-'arḍi* 'I planted trees in the land', cf. S. 54 v 12: *fajarnā l-'arḍa cuyūnan* 'we broached the land with springs').

(2) 'Artificially' is *šinā^Catan*, lit. 'in the craft or art', which may mean 'for rhetorical reasons' but more likely refers to the technical processes of grammar: as early as Ibn Jinnī (d. 1002, cf. his *Sirr šinā^Cat al-'i^Crāb* 'Secret of the art of inflection') grammar had become sufficiently self-aware to regard itself as a *šinā^Ca* (=techne).

20.9 (1) Here we insert a type of dependent noun which has some slight affinities with the specifying element, e.g. '*innā ma^Cšara l-^Carabi...*' 'verily we, the Arab people...', where *ma^Cšara* 'kinsfolk' has dep. form as a 'specialization' of its antecedent (*taḵṣīṣ*, not in quite the same sense as in 19.71 n 1). Adjectival discord as set out in 11.6 is usually treated as a variety of *taḵṣīṣ*.

(2) Many exclamations involve specifying elements, e.g. '*anta r-rajulu cilman*' 'you are the man for knowledge!', *wayḥahu rajulan* 'alas for him

as a man!': these lack verbs (contrast 20.7 n 2), even so they still operate verbally upon extraneous elements (see further 19.25 n 1).

21.0 (1) *Jum.* 235; *Muf.* #88; *Alf.* v 316; *Qaṭr* 271; *Fleisch* 184 (also *E.I.* (2), art. 'Istiḥnā'); *Yushmanov* 77; *Nöldeke* 42; *Carter, J.S.S.* 20, 69. Terminology is evidently a natural application of the literal sense, viz. *istiḥnā* '(act of) exception', *ḥarf istiḥnā* 'particle of exception', *mustaḥnā minhu* 'excepted from it', i.e. 'antecedent', and *mustaḥnā* 'thing excepted', i.e. 'excepted element', but cf. *E.I.* (2), art. 'Ḥiyāl' for *istiḥnā* as a legal term for 'mental reservation', and cf. *Carter, R.E.I.* 40, 90.

(2) The reference is via al-Azharī, *Taṣr.* I, 346, to *Tashīl al-fawā'id* by Ibn Mālik (q.v. 1.02 n 2), ed. M. K. Barakāt, Cairo 1968, 101.

21.01 (1) On the terminology of this paragraph: 'generic' is *jins*, lit. 'genus' (v. 23.31 n 1); 'substitution' is *badal*, q.v. 14.21 for the example quoted here; 'limitation' is *ḡāya*, lit. 'end, limit' (cf. 5.53, 5.56, 12.91, 12.911 for the overlap of 'ilā, ḥattā and 'illā); 'strict' has been added to ensure that *istiḥnā* has its full technical sense; see 21.1, 21.11 for continuous and discontinuous exception respectively; 'actually or implicitly' is *taḥqīqan* 'aw *taqdīran*, not true antonyms, as *taḥqīq* and cognates are usually opposed to *majāz* 'figure, metaphor' (v. 13.3 n 1) and *taqdīr* to *lafẓ* '(explicit) form' (v. 2.101 n 1).

(2) S. 2 v 187.

(3) See 1.13 on informativeness. Both utterances are meaningful without the exceptive phrases, and with *jā'anī nāsun* there are interesting possibilities: either *nāsun* 'some people' is informative enough, though formally undefined, to be both grammatical and logical subject of the predicate *jā'anī* 'came to me' (cf. 18.108 n 2 on verbs of motion with direct object), or the logical subject is actually *nī* 'me', equal to passive *jī'tu* 'I was come to (by unidentified agent/s)', cf. 8.11 n 1. The second analysis is supported by the fact that *nī* is the only defined element in the utterance, cf. the considerations in 9.12 n 2, 9.73 n 1.

21.02 (1) 'Instruments' is 'adāwāt (sing. 'adāh), literally translated. It is a synonym of *ḥarf* in its meaning of 'particle' (cf. 1.25 n 2), which at one time (e.g. *Inṣāf*, intro. 72 n 1) was thought to be a mark of 'Kūfan' grammar (9.4 n 3), but the arch-Baṣran Sībawayhi uses it once (*Kitāb* II, 143) and it seems to crop up indiscriminately.

(2) Lit. 'by predominance', *taḡlīban*, cf. 3.65 n 12.

(3) Orthographically *ḥašā* is *ḥa'say*, and to shorten either vowel a consonantal lengthening marker has to be elided, see 2.43 n 2.

(4) See 21.44 n 1 on *luḡa* 'variant realization', and note the use of well known words to specify a particular morphology (an alternative to spelling out in full, q.v. 3.44 n 2). It is pedantic, but necessary, to point out that the transliterations are inconsistent here: *sawā'un* is quoted in its junctural form, i.e. complete with its case vowel and final *n* (q.v. 1.4), not the pausal form (viz. *sawā'*, cf. 2.14 n 2), while *siwā*, *suwā* etc. are quoted in their pausal form, without final *n* (like *fatā*, 4.2 n 2 (b)). There is no excuse for this, except perhaps that the junctural form *suwan* never occurs in natural language, as *suwā* is always annexed to the following noun (2.14).

21.03 (1) Omitting *laysa* and *lā yakūnu*, which are dealt with in 21.62. Another type of exception which ought to be mentioned is the construction with '*innamā* 'only', e.g. '*innamā ḡaraba 'anā* 'only I struck', explained in 7.7 as synonymous with *mā ḡaraba 'illā 'anā* 'none struck but I' (see further 9.83 n 2).

21.1 (1) 'States' is lit. for *ḥālāt*, cf. 11.2 n 1.

(2) Lit. 'mother of the category', cf. 6.4 n 2 on the anthropomorphism and 25.62 n 2 on *bāb* (plur. '*abwāb*') in the meaning of 'category'.

(3) 'Structurally complete' is perhaps not fully justified for the simple term *tāmm*, lit. 'complete, finished', and perhaps 'formally complete' would be less tendentious. The objection to 'structural' is that some of the 'complete' sentences below nevertheless contain more than a structural minimum, viz. *ra'aytu l-qawma* 'I saw the people' ('people' is redundant, cf. 15.06 n 1), *marartu bi-l-qawmi* 'I passed by the people' ('by the people' redundant). However, as aš-Širbīnī's subsequent comment makes clear, in the context of exception these elements cease to be redundant. Further on *tāmm*, 9.71 n 2.

(4) The spelling instruction (3.44 n 2) distinguishes the passive *mūjab* from the active *mūjib* 'one who asserts, makes necessary' (root *w-j-b*, Stem IV, v. 10.34 n 1).

(5) 'Continuous exception' is fairly literal for *istiṭnā' muttaṣil* (*muttaṣil*, 'joined' is also used for bound pronouns, 11.716 n 1, and for a type of conjunctive construction in 12.51), and the definition provided by aš-Širbīnī makes its application clear. What he does not explain until 21.2 (because Ibn Ājurūm's over-simplification obscures the fact) is that continuous exception also occurs with negative sentences. Cf. Carter, *J.S.S.* 20, 70.

(6) The elements in the incorrect sentences in 21.01 do belong to the same class, but are too vague to be identified as being excepted from one another.

21.11 (1) See 21.14 n 1 on this dispute

(2) 'Discontinuous exception' is fairly literal for *istiṭnā' munḡaṭi'* (cf. *munḡaṭi'* 'disjunctive' in 12.52), referring, as the examples make

clear, to exception of something not in the same class as its antecedent. This distinction has something artificial about it: *Kitāb I*, 363 and later *Muqtaḍab IV*, 412f recognize the phenomenon, but it seems that the contrasting terms *muttaṣil* (21.1 n 5) and *munqaṭi*^C did not become fixed until the time of Ibn as-Sarrāj (d. 929, e.g. op. cit. 5.3 n 2, 41). Sībawayhi, on the other hand, not only never uses *muttaṣil* in this context, but also uses *munqaṭi*^C in a purely structural sense ('cut off from what operates on the antecedent', *ibid.*) and illustrates this with examples in which the excepted element is in the same class as its antecedent!

21.12 (1) S. 21 v 22: 'them' refers to heaven and earth, and the verse continues *la-fasadatā* 'they both would perish'. A secular example from the earliest discussion of this case may remove the theological distractions, viz. *law kāna ma^Canā rajulun 'illā zaydun la-ḡulibnā* 'if there had been with us any man except Zayd we would have been defeated' (*Kitāb I*, 370), where 'illā likewise has the status of *ḡayru* 'other than' (21.4). An alternative explanation is that *law* 'if' is effectively a negative (by asserting impossible conditions, cf. 5.811 n 1), scil. 'no man but Zayd was with us', 'no god other than God was in them', hence the excepted element follows the rules of 21.2, 21.46. Sībawayhi seems to be aware of this possibility, but gives it no emphasis at all, though his commentators clearly recognize the underlying negation in this and similar constructions (cf. Jahn's notes to *Kitāb* #194, also Reckendorf, *Ar. Synt.* 506).

(2) Cf. 21.41 on transfer of inflection in the opposite direction. Note *ṣūra* 'form', q.v. 11.712 n 2, and see 1.41 n 4 on invariability, *bīnā*'.

21.13 (1) The indifference here refers only to the obligatory dependent form after 'illā in positive sentences: the preferred word order remains as illustrated in 21.1 and 21.11, and inversions of the type *qāma 'illā zaydan il-qawmu* are rare (Reckendorf's examples, *Ar. Synt.* 511, are from poetry).

21.14 (1) See *Inṣāf*, prob. 34 on this debate between the 'Baṣrans' and 'Kūfans' (9.4 n 3): some Kūfans make 'illā itself the operator, some others wrongly segment 'illā into the two dependence operators 'inna (10.41) and lā (22.0), while the Baṣrans tend to look for an implicit verb such as 'I except' as the operator. See Carter, *B.S.O.A.S.* 35, 493, for the more plausible explanation of Sībawayhi.

21.2 (1) See 21.1 n 3 for some reservations about the translation of *tāmm* as 'structurally complete'.

(2) Both here and in 21.1 the antecedent and the excepted element are homogeneous, hence both belong to the category of *istiṭnā' muttaṣil* 'continuous exception', q.v. 21.1 n 5. This is a purely semantic classification: the logical status of the excepted element and the structure of the sentence both differ from those in 21.1.

(3) See 14.2; one might have expected inclusive substitution (14.3) to be named, since membership of classes is involved, but the Arabs prefer

to regard this as a partitive relationship.

(4) See 9.4 n 3 on 'Baḡrans' and 'Kūfans', and *Inṣāf* prob. 35 for the dispute alluded to here. The Kūfan position is based on the assumption that, since substitution requires no particle between the concordant elements, any particle which is there must be a conjunction (q.v. 12.0).

(5) See 26.7 n 2 on Abū Ḥayyān.

21.21 (1) S. 4 v 66; variant in 21.23 n 1.

(2) Traditionally the variants in the Qur'anic text have been systematized into seven sets called *qirā'āt*, of which 'Readings' is a literal translation. Each Reading is attached to the name of a prominent transmitter of the Qur'anic text, the earliest of whom was born in 641 and the latest of whom died in 804 (see Sezgin, *G.A.S.* ch. 1, *E.I.* (2), art. 'Qirā'a'; on Ibn ʿĀmir, 641-736, see *G.A.S.* I, 6, *E.I.* (2), s.v.).

(3) Cf. 7.62 on the pronoun suffix ū.

(4) 'Understood as repeated' is a free rendering of *fī niyyati takrārī l-ʿāmili*, lit. 'in the intention of repeating the operator'; *niyya* is a legal term corresponding exactly to *mens rei*, cf. the maxim *al-ʿaḥmāl bi-n-niyyāt* 'actions depend on intentions'. See 14.4 n 5.

21.22 (1) See 5.76 n 1 on *nahy* 'prohibition', 5.741 n 1 on *istifhām* 'interrogation'; to these can be added the quasi-negative *law* 'if' in 21.12, and *hal min kālīqin ḡayru llāhi* in 9.03 (rhetorical question).

(2) S. 11 v 81. See 13.12 n 1 on the juncture feature in *imra'atuka*.

(3) See 21.21 n 2 on 'Readings'; For Abū ʿĀmir ibn al-ʿAlāʾ, d. 770, see *E.I.* (2), s.v., and for Ibn Kaṭīr, 665-738, see *G.A.S.* I, 7, *E.I.* (2), s.v. Needless to say, the existence of seven 'Readings' does not mean that every variant has seven different forms!

(4) S. 15 v 56; *qāllūna* 'those who err' displays the only permitted type of over-long syllable CVC (2.43 n 2), viz. *qāl*, which occurs only on the assimilation of identical consonants (<**qālilūna*, cf. 10.34 n 1). Where the two consonants are different (which happens only in juncture, e.g. *lā-m* in '*illā mra'atuka*') the vowel is pronounced short but the spelling is unaltered. Cf. Beeston 20; Fleisch 22; Yushmanov 14.

21.23 (1) See 21.21 n 2 on 'Readings'; the variants here would read *mā faʿalūhu 'illā qalīlan minhum* (S. 4 v 66, 21.21) and *wa-lā yaltafit minhum 'aḥadun 'illā mra'ataka* (S. 11 v 81, 21.22). The dependent form is not appropriate to the logical status of the excepted elements, as they are, in fact, the true agents: but we may accept as-Zajjājī's explanation (*Jum.* 235) as intuitively sound, i.e. that the sentence is already complete without them. The '*illā*' phrases can then be regarded as afterthoughts, their structural redundancy marked by the dependent form (cf. Carter, *J.S.S.* 20, 71).

21.24 (1) Etymologically '*illā*' is '*in lā* 'if not', and Reckendorf may be right in claiming (*Synt. Verh.* 712, 714) that it originally occurred only after negative sentences as here, and that the excepted element

had to concord with the function of its antecedent because it had that function itself (cf. the paraphrase in 21.21: **mā faCalūhu 'illā faCalahu qalīlun minhum* 'they did not do it, except that a few of them did it').

(2) If Reckendorf was right (n 1), this option may not have evolved simultaneously with the previous type, but would have arisen by contamination with the dependent forms in the newer type of exception after positive sentences, perhaps when the role of the dependent form as a marker of structural redundancy had become stabilized (cf. 19.1 n 1).

21.241 (1) By 'two possibilities' *aš-Širbīnī* means the choice between substitution in the appropriate case or obligatory dependent form. In the last example quoted above the dependent form results either way, but, as the ensuing analysis reveals, the deep structure is different. When the excepted element substitutes for a direct object the underlying form is **mā ra'aytu l-qawma 'illā ra'aytu minhum zaydan* 'I did not see the people except I saw of them Zayd', the two conditions for substitution of the part for the whole (14.2) being (a) concord, hence the dependent form and (b) explicit or implicit pronoun reference to the 'whole' of which the excepted element is the partial substitute (14.21). In our example the pronoun is in *minhum* 'of them', and remains implicit, but this need not always be so, e.g. *mā faCalūhu 'illā qalīlun minhum* in 21.21.

(2) See 1.02 n 2 on Ibn Mālik and 21.14 n 1 on the various theories on the operation of 'illā. This time the underlying form is **mā ra'aytu l-qawma; 'illā zaydan* 'I did not see the people; except Zayd', where the 'illā phrase is structurally redundant.

21.3 (1) 'Structurally incomplete' is *nāqīṣ*, lit. 'lacking', antonym of *tāmm* '(structurally) complete', q.v. 21.1, esp. n 3, and cf. 9.71, 9.94. In 10.11 and elsewhere in ch. 10 these terms are rendered 'syntactically complete/defective' because they denote functional categories rather than structural features of sentences.

(2) See 21.22 on the equivalents, prohibition and interrogation. There are no positive sentences in this kind of exception, cf. 21.35 n 2.

(3) 'Neutralized' is *'ulḡiya*, passive verb cognate with *mulḡā*, q.v. 5.431 n 3, and see 21.31 n 1. On 'operators', *ḥawāmīl*, see 2.11.

21.31 (1) An utterance *mā qāma* can mean one of two things: there may be a concealed agent pronoun (11.714 n 3), giving 'he stood', on condition that the reference of 'he' is intended by the speaker and understood by the listener, or else there may be no pronoun agent because an overt agent is about to be mentioned (cf. 7.22 n 1). The occurrence of 'illā rules out the first possibility, hence *zaydun* is both grammatical and logical agent and inflects accordingly, 'illā having no effect, except to revoke the previous negative, scil. 'there stood not, if not Zayd' = 'there stood Zayd'.

(2) S. 54 v 50; there is no verb in this sentence, and *mā* here could equally well be interrogative, scil. 'what is our command if not one?'

cf. 5.83 n 2, 5.84 n 3.

21.32 (1) Here it is only convention which expects a direct object after a transitive verb: the sentence is already structurally complete in the form *mā ḍarabtu* 'I did not strike', cf. 21.1 n 3. However, it is certainly true that the occurrence of *'illā* here leads to the expectation of a direct object, hence the dependent form of *zaydan*. There can be no question of the principles set out in 21.2, 21.23 operating in this case, as there is no antecedent for which *zaydan* could be a substitute or from which it could be excepted (cf. 21.34).

21.33 (1) Apologies have already been offered in 3.84 n 3 for the long-winded translation of *jārr wa-majrūr* as 'operator of obliqueness and oblique element'. For *muta^calliq* 'semantically connected' see 5.82 n 6, and cf. also 23.45 n 4.

(2) Note the assimilated 2nd and 3rd radicals in the 'doubled verb' *marra*, q.v. 10.61 n 1, and see 3.52 n 3 on the use of the 3rd masc. sing. in the metalanguage.

(3) When there is no antecedent, as here, *'illā* can hardly be a conjunction, as the 'Kūfans' argue (21.2 n 4), contrast 21.24, where their case appears more plausible, since the preposition *bi* is not repeated before the conjoined element (cf. 12.1).

21.34 (1) 'Exhaustive' is *mufarraḡ*, lit. 'emptied, made idle', a term not found in the earliest grammars (e.g. *Kitāb* I, 360, *Muqtaḍab* IV, 389), but evidently established by the time of Ibn as-Sarrāj (op. cit. 5.3 n 2, 39). It would be elegant if *mufarraḡ* here retained its primary meaning and denoted exception from an empty set, but it is more likely to have developed as the antithesis of *ṣāḡala* 'to preoccupy, wholly engage' and its derivatives, used by Sībawayhi (loc. cit.) to express the idea that in exception the verb may or may not already be fully occupied by an agent etc., as in aṣ-Širbīnī's explanation here. Cf. Fleischer, *Kl. Schr.* II, 95, and *iṣṭigāl*, 7.30 n 2.

21.35 (1) This is aṣ-Šaykḥ Kālid al-Azharī, the unacknowledged source of most of the contents of the present work (see further 14.63 n 3). The quotation is from *Taṣr.* I, 348.

(2) The translation emphasizes that the agents etc. of the verb remain positive: the structure of the verbal sentence (7.5 n 1) is such that only the verb can be negated, not its agent etc., and the type 'I passed by no man' is impossible in Classical Arabic. In modern usage, and under the influence of European languages, verbs with negated agents are tending to appear, see further 22.6 n 1.

(3) Note that 'exhaustive' exception is confined to negative sentences: a positive **qāma 'illā zayḍun* (or *zaydan*, as in 21.1), while appearing to contain a logical agent for the verb, is devoid of anything which could be its formal agent (contrast 21.31 n 1). Cf. Carter, *J.S.S.* 20, 71. There is, however, a positive equivalent using *ḡayr*, q.v. 21.46 n 3.

21.4 (1) *Jum.* 236; *Muf.* #89; *Alf.* v 326; *Qaṭr* 276; *Fleisch*, *Tr.* #1181;

cf. also 21.42 n 1. See 21.02 n 4 on the spelling instructions and transliteration problems.

(2) Ibn Ājurūm's phrase is *lā ḡayru*, using the same word *ḡayr* that is under discussion in this paragraph, but in an invariable and evidently fossilized form, possibly connected with other quasi-adverbial elements ending in *u*, q.v. 18.41 n 2 (and cf. Cantarino II, 6, 147).

21.41 (1) Remember that this time it is the excepting element which varies, the excepted elements always having oblique form (21.45).

(2) The three categories correspond to the previous types of exception with *'illā* thus: (a) as in 21.1, i.e. positive sentences, 'continuous' and 'discontinuous' exception, illustrated in 21.42-44; (b) as in 21.2, i.e. negative sentences, 'continuous' exception, illustrated in 21.46; (c) as in 21.3, i.e. 'exhaustive' exception, not illustrated by our author, but see 21.46 n 3. For the inflection of *ḡayr* see 21.45.

21.42 (1) The apparent negative meaning of *ḡayr* is entirely conventional, as the Arabs have always known: Sībawayhi (*Kitāb* I, 375) states that to say *'atānī ḡayru ʿamrin*, lit. 'other than ʿAmr came to me', is to assert that he did not come, 'even though it would be quite correct for it to mean that he had come'. The negative connotation of *ḡayr* is so strong, however, that it is now regularly used to translate foreign prefixes 'un-', 'non-' etc., e.g. *rasmiyyun* 'official', *ḡayru rasmiyyin* 'unofficial'; *maḍbūṭun* 'exact', *ḡayru maḍbūṭin* 'inexact', cf. Beeston 101. According to Beeston 102, there is a tendency for this function of *ḡayr* to be taken over by the negative particle *lā* 'not' (22.6 n 1).

(2) See 2.6 on implicit inflection and 3.5 on dependence markers.

21.43 (1) See 11.2 n 2 on the reason why *ḥāl* 'state' cannot be translated as 'case' in these paragraphs.

(2) See 21.02, 21.03; the full list would be *siwā/suwā/siwā'a/sawā'a*.

(3) Note in passing that dep. forms of *ḡayr* are not confined to the exceptive construction: since *ḡayr* is annexed to the element it negates (21.45) it is also marked for the syntactic function of the whole unit, which may be dep. form as a circumstantial qualifier (ch. 19, e.g. *jā'a zaydun ḡayra rākibin* 'Zayd came not riding'), or as a space/time qualifier (ch. 18, e.g. *jalastu ḡayra ṭawīlin* 'I sat for not long') etc. But see further 21.45 n 2 and cf. Cantarino II, 150.

21.44 (1) See 21.02, 21.03. See Rabin, *Anc. West-Ar.* 9 on the many senses of *luḡa*, lit. 'language', but here 'variant realization' and elsewhere 'lexical meaning' as opposed to *iṣṭilāḥ* 'technical meaning' (e.g. 1.1). Both lexicography and dialectology are embraced by *fiqh al-luḡa*, lit. 'jurisprudence of language' and *ʿilm al-luḡa* 'science of language', cf. J. Kraemer, *Oriens* 6, 201-238.

21.45 (1) 'Exceptives' here translates the more general term *'adawāt*, plur. of *'adāh* 'instrument', q.v. 21.02 n 1.

(2) See 21.11, 21.14 on *'illā* as a dependence operator. Aš-Širbīnī's

explanation of the dep. form of *ḡayr* is taken from al-Azharī, *Taṣr.* I, 361, and is one of three given by Ibn Hišām, *Muḡnī* I, 137, the others being either that *ḡayr* takes the inflection that a noun after 'illā has, or that *ḡayr* has dep. form by analogy with space/time-qualifiers. See also 21.47 n 1.

(3) 21.4. Conversely *ḡayr* never occurs without being annexed (except in the phrases *laysa ḡayru*, *lā ḡayru*, q.v. 21.4 n 2).

21.46 (1) To complete the examples omitted by aš-Širbīnī: dep. state *mā ra'aytu l-qawma ḡayra zaydīn* 'I did not see the people except Zayd', obl. state *mā marartu bi-l-qawmi ḡayra zaydīn* 'I did not pass by the people except Zayd'. See further 21.47 n 1.

(2) There would be five exceptive nouns if all the variant realizations (21.02) had been included, but one, *siwā'un*, has been discarded in 21.4 in favour of the 'purer' form *sawā'un* (see 13.31 n 6 on 'afṣaḥ 'purer'), following al-Azharī, *Āj.* 88.

(3) Through following al-Azharī so closely, aš-Širbīnī omits to give examples of 'exhaustive' exception (21.3, 21.34 n 1), viz. *mā qāma ḡayru zaydīn* 'none stood other than Zayd' etc., but it may be that this construction is not common enough to deserve mention (only one example in Cantarino II, 148 top). On the other hand, *ḡayr* etc. are very frequent in positive sentences, e.g. *qāma ḡayruhu* 'someone else stood', *ra'aytu ḡayrahu* 'I saw someone else', *marartu bi-ḡayrihi* 'I passed by someone else', but these, it could be argued, are not 'exception'.

21.47 (1) See 14.2 on 'substitution of the part for the whole'; the examples this time would be, indep. state *mā qāma l-qawmu ḡayru zaydīn*, dep. state *mā ra'aytu l-qawma ḡayra zaydīn*, obl. state *mā marartu bi-l-qawmi ḡayri zaydīn*, in which *ḡayr* concords with its antecedent. The variation between concurring *ḡayru/a/i* and invariable (adverbial) *ḡayra* presumably represents an inconsistency in natural usage, cf. the attempts to explain it in 21.45 n 2. Not every grammarian is willing to say which variant is preferable: *Muf.* #89 and *Qaṭr* 277 are vague, *Jum.* 236 mentions concordance only, while *Alf.* v 326 alone seems clearly in favour of concordance (cf. Ibn Ḥaqīl ad loc.).

(2) See 2.6 on implicit inflection and 3.1 on inflection markers. The parsing relates only to the example in 21.46 with indep. *ḡayru*, the others having been omitted by aš-Širbīnī, q.v. n 1.

21.48 (1) By which aš-Širbīnī means that *ḡayr* etc. will be marked for dep. or obl. function as required by their concordance with the antecedent.

21.5 (1) *Jum.* 236; *Muf.* #88; *Alf.* v 328; *Qaṭr* 276; Fleisch, *Tr.* #150d. As is apparent from their syntactical variation, the status of these elements has become uncertain. In the case of *kalā* and *ḥadā* there can be little doubt that they are originally genuine verbs (the root notion of *k-l-w* is 'isolation, emptiness', and that of *ḥ-d-w* 'turn away from, pass beyond', cognate with *mutaḥaddī* in 16.309 n 1), whose transition from verb to particle can be accounted for by assimilation to the

structure of *ḡayr* (which is perhaps why *kalā* and *ʿadā* are also invariable). For the problem of *ḥāšā* see below, n 4.

(2) See 11.721 n 4 on abstract nouns formed by suffixation, in the present case *ḥarfiyya* from *harf* 'particle' and *fiʿliyya* from *fiʿl* 'verb'.

(3) See 7.58 n 1. The reasoning is as follows: since the noun before *kalā* is plural it cannot be the agent of the singular verb *kalā* (cf. 7.12 n 1), and therefore the agent of *kalā* is a pronoun concealed in it (scil. 'the people stood, something excluded Zayd').

(4) Historically *ḥāšā* has been explained as 'an ancient verbal noun, used exclamatorily' (Fleisch, *E.I.* (2), art. 'Istithnā', paraphrasing Fleischer, *Kl. Schr.* I, 405). The exclamatory nature of *ḥāšā* has some confirmation in the final *ā* (cf. 23.22 n 1), and an original meaning of 'beware!' has been suggested, cf. the expression *ḥāšā li-llāhi* 'God forbid!'. This being so the transition to verbal syntax in *ḥāšā zaydan* shows the opposite assimilation to that of *kalā* and *ʿadā* above, which reaches its extreme in the creation of a spurious verb phrase *mā ḥāšā* by analogy with *mā kalā* etc., q.v. below. Likewise there is a doublet *ḥāšāya/ḥāšānī* 'except me', one showing the nominal suffix *ya* (3.241 n 4), the other the verbal suffix *nī* (16.301), cf. Fleischer, *Kl. Schr.* I, 491. As might be expected, the 'Kūfans' (9.4 n 3) resolutely argue that *ḥāšā* is a verb (*Inṣāf*, prob. 37).

21.6 (1) These are all clearly verbs, for the reasons given in the ensuing paragraphs, though it should be noted that they are invariable in this structure, notwithstanding their behaviour in other contexts.

21.61 (1) See 10.23 n 3 on *mā l-maṣdariyya* 'the verbal noun *mā*', so called because it makes a noun phrase with its verb, scil. 'as long as one excludes...'; see 24.21 n 1 on *maṣdar* 'verbal noun'.

(2) See 21.5 n 2 on *fiʿliyya* 'verbal quality', lit. 'verbality'.

(3) *Schaw. Ind.* 182; the verse concludes *wa-kullu naʿīmin lā maḥālata zāʿilun* 'and every happiness inevitably ceasing'. As well as the dep. form *allāha* 'God' after *mā kalā*, note *kull* (13.4 n 6), *lā maḥālata* (22.6 n 1) and positive *zāʿil* (contrast 10.19). The poet Labīd was born at about the same time as the Prophet Muḥammad and died some thirty years after him in about 660, aged around ninety: see *E.I.* (2), art. 'Labīd', *G.A.L.* I, 36, *G.A.S.* II, 126.

(4) What aš-Širbīnī (here quoting al-Azhari, *Taṣr.* I, 364) means is that Labīd borrowed the idea for his verse from Qurʾān S. 28 v 88. The latter is also interesting for the occurrence of dep. *wajhahu* 'his face' after 'illā in a verbless sentence: see 19.25 n 1 for the issues.

(5) *Schaw. Ind.* 140, anon. Verbal status of *ʿadā* is here confirmed by the suffix *nī* (16.301), also present on 'innanī in this line, because 'inna 'verily' is regarded as having verbal force (see 10.401 n 2). Note also *kull* (13.4 n 6), this time annexed to a relative clause (see 11.753), and the 'doubled verb' (10.61 n 1) *tamallu*, fem. sing. because its agent is a broken plural (7.22 n 1 and see also 4.12 n 3).

(6) See 1.02 n 2 on Ibn Mālik. The work referred to here (full title *al-Ḳulāṣa l-'alfiyya* 'The 1000-line Precis') is, as its name implies, a statement in about a thousand lines of low quality verse, of the main elements of Arabic grammar, and is the most famous work of its kind in the literature. The reference is to v. 330, though aš-Širbīnī is again quoting al-Azharī, *Taṣr.* I, 364.

21.62 (1) See 10.1 for the syntax of this kind of verb, and 10.11, 10.18 for *kāna* and *laysa* respectively.

(2) In view of the syntax of these verbs, the example might literally be translated 'they stood, it is not Zayd and it is not Bakr'.

(3) Wensinck, *Concordance* VII, 6. The 'Tradition' (1.01 n 4) relates to the problem of meat not ritually slain (e.g. in battle or with a stone when no knife is available): it is lawful as long as blood has flowed and the *basmala* (1.0 n 1) has been pronounced over it.

21.7 (1) Among elliptical expressions worth noting are *laysa ḡayru* and *lā ḡayru* (q.v. 21.4 n 2), and the synonymous *laysa 'illā*, e.g. *jā'anī zaydun laysa 'illā* 'Zayd came to me, none but', cf. *Muf.* #96, Fleischer, *Kl. Schr.* I, 431.

22.0 (1) *Jum.* 241; *Muf.* ##36, 99; *Alf.* v 197; *Qaṭr* 166; Beeston 100; Yushmanov 77; Nöldeke 46; cf. negation in general 5.76 n 1. Note the close structural similarities between *lā* and vocative *yā* (ch. 23), for which reason they are often treated in adjacent chapters (but contrast *Qaṭr*, which places *lā* among the 'cancellers', i.e. elements operating on equational sentences, q.v. ch. 10 and cf. 25.62 n 1).

(2) Terminology: *lā llatī li-nafy al-jins* 'lā which is for negating the genus', also *lā n-nāfiya li-l-jins* 'lā negating the genus' (for *jins* see 23.31 n 1). The name *lā t-tabrī'a* 'lā of quittance' is not used at all by the early grammarians, but is already known to Ibn Hišām, *Muḡnī* I, 194. Note that *ism lā* 'the noun of lā' (i.e. negated subject) and *ḵabar lā* 'the predicate of lā' follow the terminology of 10.1.

(3) See 10.4 et seq. on 'inna. The correlation (*ḥaml*, see 23.411 n 2) of *lā* and 'inna here offers a good specimen of analogical extension (*qiyās*, q.v. 8.3 n 2, and see also 22.4 n 1 on *naḡīr* 'analogue').

(4) 'Rank' is literal for *rutba*: such hierarchical notions are rare in the earliest grammar, but see Baalbaki, *Z.A.L.* 2, 1-22, and 11.711 n 2.

(5) i.e. *tanwīn*, q.v. 1.4, but see notes to 22.12.

22.1 (1) Imperative verb 5.03, 5.2. Note that in transliteration here the verb has been given the ' which appears only in utterance-initial position and is elided in juncture, q.v. 13.12 n 1.

(2) 'In form or status' translates *lafzan 'aw maḥallan*: see 1.11 n 1 on *lafz* and 5.81 n 3 on *maḥall*. Note the three-way opposition between *lafz*, *maḥall* and *mawḍiʿ* ('function', 3.1 n 4) throughout this chapter and see further 22.12 n 1.

(3) See 22.3 et seq. for repetition of *lā*.

22.11 (1) Observe the close parallel with the vocative structure in 23.44, and see 26.7 on annexation. It is a pedagogical simplification to refer to the noun here as 'undefined' (*nakira*, 11.8 n 1), as it has neither definition nor indefinitional markers. Reckendorf (*Synt. Verh.* 343) explains this unmarked form as a survival from a stage before such markers had evolved. While he will not go so far as to assert that *lā* effectively defines its noun syntactically (enough to be a subject of a sentence, cf. 9.12 n 2), he makes a useful comparison with the generic article (id. 344, cf. 11.741). Since *lā* and *al* 'the' are in complementary distribution, are they simply the negative and positive members of the same function class? Cf. 19.72 n 1.

(2) Predicates (q.v. 9.11) after *lā* are nearly always prepositional phrases (Reckendorf, *Ar. Synt.* 119, Cantarino II, 220).

22.12 (1) In this paragraph *lafz* 'form', *mawḍiʿ* 'function' and *maḥall* 'status' are used contrastively (refs. 22.1 n 2). On the one hand the final *a* of *rajula* is called the true, formal dependence marker (q.v. 3.5), and on the other hand, *rajula* is said to function as an unmarked dependent element. But this leaves the final *a* unexplained, hence, if it is not an inflection marker (cf. 3.3), *rajula* can only be regarded as having equivalent status, *maḥall*, to a dependent noun.

(2) See 9.4 n 3 on Baṣrans, 0.1 n 1 on Sībawayhi (though aṣ-Širbīnī is here quoting al-Azharī, *Āj.* 89, and cf. *Inṣāf*, prob. 53). Although *tanwīn* is incompatible with *lā* (cf. 22.11 n 1), duals and sound masc. plurals with final *n* do occur after *lā*, e.g. *lā taw'amayni* 'no two twins' (Beeston 100). Unless we argue that a dual such as *taw'amayni* means 'a pair of twins' as a single, negatable category (cf. 3.65 n 2), these constructions must be seen as innovations (cf. 23.421 n 2).

22.2 (1) S. 37 v 47, meaning the harmlessness of the wine of Paradise. Here *lā* cannot operate on *ḡawlun* because the sentence is inverted (q.v. 9.73 n 1). The question to ask, however, is whether it was inverted deliberately in order to draw *ḡawlun* away from *lā*, i.e. to preserve the meaning 'there is not in it any single ill-effect' rather than 'no ill-effect is in it' (**lā ḡawla fīhā*), perhaps because 'ill-effect' is not felt to be a negatable category (cf. 22.44 n 1).

(2) As the translation implies, this is not categorical negation: where it does occur in literature (e.g. *lā 'ummayata* 'no Umayya', see Howell #99 for others) it is explained as equivalent to *lā miṭla 'umayyata* 'none like Umayya' ('*umayyatu* semi-declinable, 3.89 (4)). Proper names

being defined by nature or by form (11.72, 11.82 n 4), they can only be negated as individuals, not categories (cf. 3.65 n 8, 23.421 n 2).

22.3 (1) See 12.6 n 3 on Ibn Kaysān; his master Abū l-ʿAbbās Muḥammad ibn Yazīd al-Mubarrad was born in Baṣra in about 825 and died in 898 in Baghdad, where he had established himself as the leading 'Baṣran' grammarian (cf. 9.3 n 4). We refer frequently to his *Muqtaḍab*, a pedagogical reworking of the *Kitāb*. See *G.A.L.* I, 108.

(2) If we replace the first *lā* by *laysa* 'is not' (10.18), then *wa-lā* reveals itself as a normal repeater negative, q.v. 12.8 n 2.

22.31 (1) See 2.11 n 1 on 'operate' and 5.431 n 3 on 'neutralized'.

(2) The abundance of alternative constructions probably reflects mere confusion rather than any actual differences of use (e.g. dialect) or meaning. Yet another possibility is adduced by Nöldeke 46, viz. *lā ʿawfan wa-lā ʿirama* 'no ʿAwf and no Iram', with both elements dependent but differing from 22.42 in that the first noun retains its final *n*. Both elements are proper names and occur thus in a poem: seemingly this is an anomaly like those in 22.2 n 2.

(3) By 'end in a' we are to understand that this is not an inflection marker of the dependent form but an invariable ending, q.v. 22.12.

22.4 (1) 'Modes' here is *ʿawjuh*, lit. 'faces, aspects, directions', a part of the linear metaphor in which grammatical abstractions were expressed in Arabic (cf. 1.01 n 1); its singular *wajh* has been used from the first in the sense of 'proper manner, correct way' (Troupeau, *Lex.-Index*, w-ž-h), retaining in grammar its original ethical connotation.

(2) 'Illustration' is a very free translation of *naẓīr*, lit. 'like, corresponding', rendered elsewhere as 'analogue' (e.g. 22.0). It is aš-Širbīnī's way of saying that the phrase discussed in the second half of this paragraph (reproducing al-Azharī, *Taṣr.* I, 240) is 'analogous' to the principle stated in the first half of the paragraph (this time reproducing al-Azharī, *Āj.* 89).

(3) An often quoted, perhaps proverbial expression from the Traditions of Muḥammad (1.01 n 4; see Wensinck, *Concordance* I, 533 for locations). *Muf.* #105 is devoted to it, and the following notes are largely drawn from Ibn Yaʿīš's Commentary thereon.

22.41 (1) See 3.0 n 2 on *ʿaṣl* 'regular way'. Here *lā quwwata* has the same form as *lā ḥawla* because it is regarded as making a fresh start (*isti'nāf*) to the sentence.

(2) S. 2 v 254, referring to Judgement Day.

(3) See 21.22 n 3 on these two. This 'Reading' (21.21 n 2) is evidently a minority one, as the standard editions have *lā bayʿun fihā wa-lā kullatun*, both with independent form as in 22.45.

22.42 (1) *Schaw. Ind.* 142 (and see 164 for alternative second hemistich rhyming in *ar-rātiqī*); it concludes *ittasaʿa l-ḥarqu ʿalā r-rāqiʿi* 'the hole has become too wide for the patcher' (so Howell, #105 = p. 332).

(2) This time *lā* is redundant (*zā'ida*, q.v. 5.413 n 1) and only reinforces the previous negation (cf. 13.13), while the conjunction *wā* 'and' transmits the operation of the first *lā* to the second noun (cf. 12.1).

(3) 'Status' is *maḥall*, cf. 22.12 n 1; *kullatan* is genuinely dependent, but *nasaba*, to which it is coordinated, has only dependent status, not dependent form. Likewise *lā ḥawla wa-lā quwwatan*.

22.43 (1) *Schaw. Ind.* 11 (add *Jum.* 243, note variant). For metrical reasons (5.88 n 4) the undefined, independent form 'abun loses its final *n* and is pronounced (but not spelt) 'abū; in transliteration 'abu has been retained, to prevent confusion with the annexed form 'abū, cf. 4.7 n 1. This time the second negated noun has the independent form proper to the function of the whole phrase *lā 'umma* 'no mother' to which it is coordinated (*lā 'umma* itself, being incapable of inflection, can only be said to have the status, *maḥall*, of an independent element); the same would apply to *lā ḥawla wa-lā quwwatan*. Other points to note: prefix *la* in oaths, cf. 'emphatic *la*', 13.6 n 3; vowel harmony in *la-Camrukum*, from **la-Cumrukum*, cf. 13.9 n 9; juncture feature in *Camrukumu*, 11.1 n 2; corroborative *ḥayn*, 13.31 n 2.

22.44 (1) First half of a verse (*Schaw. Ind.* 229, rhyme *muqīmūn*, and cf. *Qur'ān* S. 52 v 23), describing the wine of Paradise. The problem is why *laḡwun* is not inverted like *ḡawlun* in 22.2. We may come no closer than the answer of Ibn Ya'īš (on *Muf.* #105, discussing the identically structured *lā ḥawlun wa-lā quwwata*, cf. 22.4 n 3), that the first *lā* has the status of *laysa* 'is not' (10.18) with *laḡwun* in the regular form of a subject-noun, the second *lā* and its noun having the normal categorical negation pattern. Note, however, that the standard editions of the *Qur'ān* do not have this 'Reading' (21.21 n 2), but instead the form set out in 22.45 n 1. Cf. also 23.61 n 10.

22.45 (1) Thus *lā laḡwun fihā wa-lā ta'tīmūn* (S. 52 v 23, the orthodox 'Reading') and *lā ḥawlun wa-lā quwwatun*, with *lā* again equivalent to *laysa* (v. previous note). In *Muf.* #105 a sixth possibility is given, viz. *lā ḥawla wa-lā quwwatun*, formally identical with 22.43, but with the second *lā* this time explained as equivalent to *laysa* 'is not', so that *quwwatun* is its subject-noun, not an independent noun coordinated to the function of the previous *lā*-phrase!

(2) The excluded case is **lā ḥawlun wa-lā quwwatan* (contrast 22.42).

22.5 (1) S. 37 v 35, being the first half of the Muslim declaration of faith (see *E.I.* (1), art. 'Shahāda'). On 'parsing', 'iCrāb, see 8.21 n 1; on *ḥarf* 'particle' see 1.25 n 1; for 'substitute', *badal*, see ch. 14, and for 'function', *mawḍiʿ*, cf. 22.12 n 1.

(2) Sībawayhi (0.1 n 1) does not discuss the syntax of this phrase, but deals with it in a general way in *Kitāb* I, 345. The actual source for *aš-Širbīnī*, however, is al-Azharī, *Taṣr.* I, 246.

(3) The assumption of an elided predicate (cf. 9.93-93) accords with the fact that *lā*-phrases seem to function only as subjects (cf. Beeston 100). But al-Azharī, *Taṣr.* I, 246, reproduces a dissenting view from

az-Zamaḡṣarī (3.53 n 6) that no elision is involved here: rather the sentence is an inversion of an underlying complete sentence 'God is the only god' with the surface structure 'not a god is anything but God'. It is clear that az-Zamaḡṣarī, as a Muḡtazilite (3.53 n 5), wanted to avoid the vagueness of the orthodox explanation which, with its indeterminate elisions, substitutions and predications, left too much scope for loose thinking! Try also P. Nwiya, *M.U.S.J.* 49, 739-765.

22.6 (1) Some items not dealt with by aṣ-Širbīnī: (a) a number of elliptical expressions with *lā*, e.g. *lā šakka* 'no doubt, doubtless', *lā maḥālata* 'inevitably', *lā jarama* 'certainly', *lā ḡayru* 'no other' (note final u, v. 21.4 n 2), *lā budda* 'unavoidably', this last commonly for Eng. 'must', cf. Beeston 101 n 1, Fleisch, *Tr.* #74 n 3; (b) *lā* for Eng. prefix 'un-' etc., e.g. *lā silkī* 'wireless', *lā 'adrī* 'a "don't know"', cf. 21.42 n 1; (c) the phrase *lā 'aḡada* 'no one' now tends to function, under influence of European syntax, as 'no-one' even in verbal sentences, e.g. *lā 'aḡada yaqūlu ḡālika* 'no-one says that': in Classical Arabic, if the sentence contains a verb, only this can be negated, thus *lā yaqūlu ḡālika 'aḡadun*, lit. 'someone does not say that', *mā fāza bi-šay'in* 'he won nothing', lit. 'he did not win something', see Beeston 101; Cantarino I, 118; other examples in 12.902, 18.110, 19.72, 21.22, 21.35.

23.0 (1) *Jum.* 157; *Muf.* #48; *Alf.* v 573; *Qaṭr* 220; Fleisch 190; Nöldeke 44. Terminology: *nida'* 'action of calling', *ḡarf nida'* 'particle of calling', *munādā* 'thing or person called' (see further 23.1 n 1). In transliteration *munādā* is preferred to *munādan*, see remarks on *siwā* in 21.02 n 4. See 10.34 n 1 on Stem III patient nouns.

(2) See 1.1 n 2 on 'lexical' and 'technical'; 'unqualified' is *muṭlaq*, elsewhere translated as 'absolute', cf. 11.717 n 3.

(3) These are listed in *Muf.* #554; the 'long' varieties of 'a and ay are 'ā and 'āy (here 'long', *mamdūda*, lit. 'stretched' and 'short' *maḡṣūra*, lit. 'shortened'), are hardly technical terms at all, contrast their special application in 3.89 n 2).

23.1 (1) Note that there is no distinction between the linguistic element (a noun with vocative function) and the external reality (the person called): both are termed *munādā*, cf. 16.1 n 1 on a comparable ambiguity in the term *fiʿl*, 'action' or 'verb'.

(2) 'Essence' is *ḡāt*, an interloper from philosophy which appears for the first time perhaps in the time of Ibn al-Ḥāḡib (d. 1249, cf. *Kāfiya*,

ch. on *tamyīz*); see *E.I.* (2), art. 'Dhāt', and 20.01 n 2.

23.2 (1) 'Status' is *manzila*, lit. 'place of dismounting', but which has had from the earliest times the metaphorical meaning of 'standing, rank'. It was taken into grammar from law: in both systems status and function (*mawḍiʿ*, 3.1 n 4) are the mutually determining axes of behaviour. Cf. Carter, *R.E.I.* 40, 84; 5.81 n 3; 8.1 n 1.

(2) Son of the famous Ibn Mālik (1.02 n 2), see 17.71 n 3. The reference here is to his unpublished Commentary on the *Alfiyya* (e.g. Brit. Mus. Or. 25Ad, = 7425 Rich., fol. 133v), though the immediate source for aš-Širbīnī is not clear: he seems to be quoting al-Azharī, *Taṣr.* II, 164, but there is no mention of Badr ad-Dīn at that point.

23.21 (1) This is an anomaly, since *yā* may not normally occur before nouns prefixed with *al* 'the', see further 23.5 n 2.

(2) 'Calling for help' is literal for *istiḡāṭa*, e.g. *yā la-llāhi li-l-muṣlīmīna* 'God help the Muslims!': the prefix (*lām al-istiḡāṭa* '1 of calling for help') is *la* before the noun invoked and *li* before the noun for which help is invoked. This *la* may be a remnant of *yā ʿāla* 'O family of...', Nöldeke 5, but cf. Fleisch 143. See *Jum.* 178; *Muf.* #48; *Alf.* v 598; *Qaṭr* 236.

23.22 (1) 'Lamentation' is *nudba*, hence *ḥarf nudba* 'particle of lamentation', *mandūb* 'thing or person lamented', e.g. *wā zaydā(h)* 'alas for Zayd'. See *Jum.* 190; *Muf.* #55; *Alf.* v 601; *Qaṭr* 238; another example 23.3. On the ending *ā(h)* see Fleisch, *Tr.* #150g.

23.3 (1) The vocative particle is never found with *allāhumma* 'O God', see further 23.31 n 3. Another elided voc. *rabbi* 'O my Lord', 5.55(c).

(2) S. 12 v 29. Compare the converse: a minority 'Reading' (21.21 n 2) of S. 27 v 25, '*allā yasjudū* 'that they do not bow down' is '*a-lā yā sjudū* 'why not, O, bow down?', with elision of the vocative noun (see al-Farrā', *Maʿānī* II, 290, also *Muf.* #59 as expanded by Howell).

(3) See 23.21 n 2 on *istiḡāṭa* 'calling for help', 23.22 n 1 for *nudba* 'lamentation', and cf. 14.4 n 5 on motive determining linguistic form.

23.31 (1) 'Generic noun' is *ism jins*, lit. 'name of a genus', cf. 3.64 n 2 on semantic categories of nouns, though here it simply contrasts with the specific individual normally addressed in the vocative, q.v. 23.42 and cf. also 23.43.

(2) But *yā hādā* 'O this one' etc. are not excluded because *hādā* 'this' etc. are nouns, not pronouns (11.73).

(3) The final *mma* of *allāhumma* 'O God' has never been explained: the 'Baṣran' view (*Inṣāf* prob. 47) reproduced here by aš-Širbīnī, that *mma* compensates for the elided *yā* is problematical. Fleisch 146 (*Tr.* #115k) sees an old demonstrative element *m* here.

23.4 (1) By 'kinds' ('*anwāʿ*', 17.2 n 1) Ibn ʿAjurrūm means formal categories, not structural or inflectional varieties, contrast 22.4.

23.41 (1) See 11.72 on *Calam* 'proper name' and 23.431 on *mufrad* 'single'.

(2) See 3.1 on *u* and its allomorphs; 'constructed as invariable' is an explanatory translation of *yubnā*, lit. 'is built' (cognate with *binā* 'invariability', 1.41 n 4, and cf. *mabnī li-l-mafCūl*, 8.0 n 1). As with *lā* 'no' (22.12), the theory of the vocative requires that the noun should have dependent function (see 23.42 n 2), hence *u* here cannot be an inflection marker.

(3) The examples *yā rajulu* and *yā rijālu* do not belong here, but *aš-Širbīnī* is following *Qaṭr* 222, where instead of 'single proper name' Ibn Hišām uses the category 'singled defined noun' (*mufrad maCrifā*, see 11.8 n 1 on *maCrifā*). See further 23.421 n 2.

(4) See 3.63 for dual, 3.41 for sound masc. plur. Note that both retain their *n* suffix (*na* or *ni*, 4.81 n 1), possibly to avoid confusion with sing. *yā zaydu* 'O Zayd', *yā zaydā* 'Alas for Zayd' (though this would not also account for retention of *n* in categorical negation as well, 22.12 n 2). The distribution of this *n* is a problem in itself, as it is only partially identical with that of its singular correlative *tanwīn* (compare paradigms in 4.11 n 1, 4.5 n 1, 4.6 n 1).

23.411 (1) For a historical *Sībawayhi* see 0.1 n 1. The name is one of several ending in the invariable suffix *wayhi*, ultimately an adaptation of a Persian diminutive suffix *ūya* (cf. *G.A.L.* I, 101 n 1). The class of names represented by *ḥaḡāmi* is somewhat obscure, cf. Fleisch, *Tr.* #70; *Jum.* 233; *Muf.* #193; *Qaṭr* 7, and see further 5.552 n 2. For the inflection of *al-fatā* see 2.5, for *al-qāḡī* 2.6.

(2) See ch. 11 on adjectival concordance, and cf. 22.12 for the opposition of *lafẓ* 'form' and *maḡall* 'status'. 'In keeping with' is literal for *murāCatan*, though this notion is more often expressed by the true technical term *ḥamala Calā* 'to correlate', lit. 'to carry back to, bear upon', (e.g. 19.5, 22.0; in 20.5 it is rendered 'construed as').

(3) Although it is fairly clear that *zaydu* etc. have in some sense a 'new' form (*juddida binā'uhu*, lit. 'its invariability has been newly made'), there is no need for such a formulation in our text: it is only a phrase used by Ibn Mālik (*Alf.* v 578) under pressure of rhyme, and survives here (via *al-Azharī*, *Taṣr.* II, 166) by simple inertia.

(4) The rule for common nouns is different, see 23.51.

23.42 (1) 'Specifically intended individual' paraphrases *an-nakira l-maḡsūda*, lit. 'the unknown thing aimed at' (see 11.8 n 1 on *nakira*). The force of *maḡsūd* (cf. 14.4 n 5) is to single out a formally undefined element 'by the act of accosting' (*bi-l-'iqbāli Calayhi*, 23.41), so that it becomes defined by context.

(2) The interpretation of the status of the vocative noun given here is the orthodox 'Baṣran' (9.4 n 3) opinion: they suppose a compulsorily deleted verbal operator such as '*adCū* or '*unāḡī* 'I call'. Most 'Kūfans' dispute this, and argue that the vocative noun has no operator at all,

and is only given independent form to avoid confusion with other functions, likewise lacks *tanwīn* to distinguish it from the true indep. noun (e.g. as subject of sentence). The Baṣrans, not without justification, brand this as 'pure arbitrariness', *Inṣāf* prob. 45.

(3) This is a statement of a rule rather than a description of actual practice: Nöldeke 44-46 supplies examples (admittedly mostly from poetry) of vocative nouns not only in *u* but also in *un*, *a* and *an*, often with no particular metrical constraint.

23.421 (1) Aš-Širbīnī is here anticipating Ibn Ājurrūm's formulation in 23.5, probably from too closely following Qaṭr 222.

(2) Dual and plural are indeed uncommon with the vocative, as they are with the structurally similar categorical negative (cf. 22.12 n 2), and possibly for related reasons: both *lā* 'no' and *yā* 'O' have the effect of particularizing their nouns (cf. 22.11 n 1), and in the case of *yā* it seems a fair assumption that its original purpose was to attract the attention of an individual (and in poetry, by natural extension, of a whole tribe). But see also 23.44 n 1.

23.43 (1) Cf. *yā rajulan kuḍ bi-yadī* 'O (any) man, take my hand' in 23.31. In both cases the context is decisive: neither the preacher nor the blind man can particularize any of the listeners (cf. 19.8 n 2 on the influence of context on linguistic form). Nevertheless this structure must be regarded as a secondary development from the true vocative (cf. previous note). Note the sentence introduced by *wa* 'and' in the function of a circumstantial qualifier (q.v. 19.9 n 1).

23.431 (1) As the explanation makes clear, *mufrad*, lit. 'alone' means here that the noun is isolated: elsewhere *mufrad* denotes 'singular' as opposed to plural etc. (e.g. 3.21, 4.11; cognate *ʿifrād* 'being singular', 11.02), and 'simple' as opposed to composite (*murakkab*, 1.12 n 1), e.g. 9.5, 11.723. Note how this term, like others, does not recognize boundaries between morphology and syntax, cf. 1.41 n 3.

23.44 (1) See 26.7 on annexation. Here we may include the phrase *yā ṣāhibayī s-sijni* 'O two companions of the prison' quoted in 26.9, as an example of the dual vocative noun. In *ṣāhibayī* we see (a) the regular loss of final *n* in annexation (*ṣāhibay-ni*, cf. 26.93 n 1), and (b) the resolution of the resulting consonant cluster *y-s-s* by insertion of the glide vowel *i* (see 11.1 n 2).

23.45 (1) 'Suffixed by something which completes the sense' renders *mā ttaṣala bihi ṣay'un min tamāmi ma^Cnāhu*, lit. 'what has attached to it something which is part of its whole meaning': for *ittaṣala* 'suffixed' was chosen because the second element of an annexation unit is regarded as a bound morpheme (see 26.91). On 'operation', *ʿamal*, see 2.11 n 1, and see below, n 5 for *Caṭf* 'coordination' in this context.

(2) Lit. 'O handsome his face', and equivalent to the formal annexation construction *yā ḥasana l-wajhi* 'O handsome of face' (26.92). Note that *ḥasanan*, though formally an adjective, is analysed as a verb phrase (equivalent to *yaḥsunu* 'is handsome'), of which *wajhuhu* 'his face' is

therefore not the subject but the agent; see 11.45 n 1, 26.92 n 5.

(3) Lit. 'O climbing a mountain', and equivalent to *yā ṭāliCa jabalin* 'O climber of a mountain' (an extremely unlikely construction, cf. also 26.92). This time the agent noun *ṭāliCan* operates on a direct object, like its equivalent verb phrase *yaṭluCu* 'he climbs', cf. 16.312 n 1, and see 7.58 n 1 for the notion of the concealed agent pronoun.

(4) See 3.84 n 3 on 'operator of obliqueness etc.', 5.82 n 6 on 'semantically connected', 5.81 n 3 on 'status', and cf. 21.22 n 4 on *mārran* (←**māriran*). In the Arab view, all prepositional phrases have dependent status through a verbal operator, cf. 9.74 n 2.

(5) 'Coordination' is *Caṭf*, here used in a restricted sense (contrast syntactic coordination, ch. 12) for the formation of compound numbers with *wa* 'and' (scil. 'three and thirty'), as distinct from the genuine compound set '13' to '19', e.g. *ḵamsata Cašara* '15' (lit. 'five-ten').

23.5 (1) There is no choice if the proper name of common noun belongs to the classes which never have *tanwīn*, q.v. 3.89.

(2) One type of vocative construction omitted by *aš-Širbīnī* is that in which, for whatever reason, the vocative noun must retain its prefix *al* 'the'. In that case *yā* may not be used (exceptions, *yā llāhu* 'O God', and some rarities, *Muf.* #52); instead *'ayyuhā* or *yā 'ayyuhā* is used, e.g. (*yā*) *'ayyuhā r-rajulu* 'O man', fem. *'ayyatuhā l-'arḍu* 'O Earth!' (*Cantarino* II, 219). The Arabs segment *'ayyuhā* into a demonstrative noun *'ayyu* and the *'hā* of attracting attention' (q.v. 11.735 n 1), while the vocative noun itself (as we might interpret it) is regarded as being in adjectival apposition to the actual vocative noun *'ayyu*, exactly as in *yā ḥāḍā r-rajulu* 'O this man' (cf. 11.73 n 1). *Jum.* 161; *Muf.* #51; *Alf.* v 588; *Fleisch*, *Tr.* #114g, 150g.

23.51 (1) See 1.21 n 1 on 'Arabs'. Note that the nouns here revert to their formal state of indefiniteness. However, the other option, to use *'ayyuhā* with the defined noun, always remains possible, e.g. *'ayyuhā r-rajulu l-Cāqilu* 'O wise man' (variant *al-Cāqila* as argued in 23.411).

(2) See 1.01 n 4 on 'Tradition'.

(3) This Tradition is not to be found in Wensinck's *Concordance*: the immediate source for *aš-Širbīnī*, however, is undoubtedly *al-Azharī*, *Āj.* 90, and cf. *al-Uṣmūnī* on *Alf.* v 577. Curiously *al-Farrā'* himself does not mention this Tradition at the place where he deals with this very topic in *MaCānī* II, 375. *Ibn Mālik* 1.02 n 2, *al-Farrā'* 1.21 n 2.

23.52 (1) See 24.1 n 2 on *ḥukm* 'rule'.

(2) Though translated here and elsewhere as 'equivalent' (e.g. 9.7), *ṣabīḥ* could just as well have been rendered 'analogous', since its literal meaning is 'similar, like'. However, the principle has already been established that formal similarity can imply functional similarity (cf. *qiyās* 'analogy', 8.3 n 2, and arguments in 5.02, 22.0).

(3) See 23.43-45.

23.6 (1) See 3.421 n 3, 23.62 n 3 on this suffix, which is peculiar in that it blankets out the inflection of the noun to which it is attached (note that, in the Arab analysis, the noun is regarded as being attached to the suffix, not vice versa; see further 26.7 n 3).

23.61 (1) See 21.44 on *luḡa* 'variant realization'.

(2) 'Sound' is literal for *ṣaḥīḥ*, i.e. not one of the 'defective' consonants *ā*, *w* or *y* (see 2.43 n 2), and see further 23.62 on suffixation of *ī* 'my' to weak consonants and long vowels.

(3) S. 39 v 16; cf. *yā rabbi* 19.71, *rabbi* 5.55(c). Far more interesting in this verse is *fa-ttaqūni*: it is Stem VIII (8.68 n 1) of root *w-q-y*, showing assimilation of 1st rad. *w* to infix *t*, and loss of 3rd rad. *y* before masc. plur. suffix *ū* (as *ramā*, 4.81 n 2), also reduction of *nī* 'me' (16.301) to *nī* for the sake of rhyme, so as to give pausal form (2.14 n 2) *fa-ttaqūn* (cf. Fleisch, Tr. #108o).

(4) *Schaw. Ind.* 265; see next note on the form of *lahfa* 'Oh my regret'. Other points to note in this verse: *lastu* 'I am not' (see 10.18 n 3) here has its predicate in oblique form prefixed with *bī* instead of the dependent form (see 10.18 n 4); *rājiʿin* is an agent noun (cf. 10.34 n 1) with *tanwīn*, therefore the following noun phrase *mā fāta minnī* 'what has escaped me' is construed as having dependent status as its direct object (see 16.312: presence of *tanwīn* rules out objective genitive, cf. 24.31 n 1); *minnī* 'from me' shows unexplained doubling of *n* before *ī* suffix (**min-ī*, try Fleisch, Tr. #108n); *lahfa*, *layta* etc. have become 'formal nouns' (1.6 n 5) by being prefixed with *bī*.

(5) It seems most unlikely that the final vowel of *lahfa* has anything to do with possessive suffixes: in its full form *lahfā* doubtless displays the *ā* suffix characteristic of expressions of dismay etc., cf. 23.22 n 1, Nöldeke 45 nn 1, 2. No form *lahfī* 'my woe' has been noted.

(6) Observe the use here of *ḥaḍf* 'elision' for both the morphological elision of *yā* and the phonological reduction of *ā* to *a* by removing the lengthening marker (cf. 3.9 n 2, 2.43 n 2).

(7) This tautology is in the text, even though it has already been explained at 23.431 that 'single' means 'non-annexed'.

(8) S. 12 v 33. It might be argued that no possessive suffix is involved here, and that *rabbu*, like *yūsufu* in the same Sūra (q.v. 23.3) is simply a case of elided *yā*, but the majority 'Reading' (21.21 n 2) preserves *rabbi*, as in type (a). 'For phonetic ease' renders *taḥfīfan*, lit. 'so as to lighten', contrast *istiṭqāl*, 2.31 n 4.

(9) S. 39 v 53; this is optional in juncture (q.v. 11.1 n 2), the *ī* (= *iy*, 2.43 n 2) being realized either as a short vowel to avoid the over-long syllable (cf. 21.22 n 4), or receiving the glide vowel as here (cf. *liya* in 10.63 n 3).

(10) S. 43 v 68; see 2.43 n 2 on 'unvowelled *ī*'. On indep. *kawfun* after the categorical negative cf. 22.44 n 1: is it possible that this *lā* 'no' is not categorical, but a kind of negative optative (an avenue

evidently not explored by the Arab grammarians)?

(11) S. 39 v 56. As with *lahfā* (see n 5), it is very unlikely that *ḥasratā* is derived from any form **ḥasratī* with the possessive suffix, not least because it is in any case never found with the other pronoun suffixes (contrast *wayḥaka* 'woe to you' etc.), cf. Fleisch, Tr. #150h.

(12) See above, n 6 on the meaning of 'elision' in this context, and 21.44 on *luḡa* 'variant realization'. 'Purest' is 'afṣaḥ, not stylistic but referring to the idealized Beduin norm, cf. 13.31 n 6.

23.62 (1) For *luḡa wāḥida* 'one recorded form' was preferred, as it did not seem logical to render it 'one variant realization'.

(2) 'Defective' is *mu^Ctall*, cognate with *Cilla* 'defect, ailment', and subsequently 'reason, cause' (e.g., 24.22). According to Köbert, *Orientalia* (NS) 14, 280, *Cilla* was borrowed from Syriac in the primary meaning of 'cause', and the extension to 'defect' is secondary.

(3) Excluded are (a) elision of *ya*, leaving *qādī*, *fatā* (= *fatay*, 2.5), identical then with the unsuffixed form, (b) **qādiyy*, **fatayy* with unvowelled *y* (2.5 n 3), (c) **qādiyyu/qādiyyi*, **fatayu/fatayi* (2.31 n 4). In the end only *ya* is left as the allomorph of *ī* after long vowels, e.g. *yadāya* 'my two hands' and *ay*, e.g. *bi-yadayya* 'with my two hands'.

23.63 (1) The text has *al-waṣf al-mušabbah bi-l-fi^Cl al-muḏāri^C*, lit. 'the describing element made to resemble the imperfect tense verb'; cf. 11.0 n 1 on *waṣf*, 9.81 n 4 on *mušabbah*, 5.02 on *muḏāri^C*, and see also 5.01 n 1 on tenses, 16.312 n 1 on the implications here.

(2) The alternatives are *yā mukrimiya*, *yā ḏāribiya*, but only in juncture (q.v. 23.61 n 9). Note that these elements, despite their verbal operation, never bear the object suffix *nī* 'me' (16.301), even though they may be followed by overt nouns in direct object form (16.312 n 1).

23.64 (1) These are old biconsonantal stems (cf. 4.71 n 1) which by their nature are likely to harbour extinct or anomalous features.

(2) Viz., in the order set out in 23.61, *yā 'abi*, *'aba*, *'abu*, *'abiya*, *'abī*, *'abā*, and likewise for *yā 'ummi* etc.

(3) Qaṭr 225, Howell #54 also cite *yā 'abatā* and *yā 'abatī*; the final *t*, rather than being a 'compensation' (*Ciwaḏ*, 1.44 n 1) is more likely to be related to the deictic *t* in *ṭummata* etc., cf. 1.83 n 3.

23.7 (1) These are alternatives to the regular *yā bna 'ummī*, *yā bna Cammī*. The old biconsonantal stem *b-n* displays some interesting features: in isolation a dummy syllable is prefixed to give *ibn-* (v. 11.1 n 2) which disappears in juncture, while in the plural the problem is resolved by dissimilating to *banūna* (see 3.412 (b)). There is a unique form *ibnam-*: the function of the *m* is unknown, perhaps it is to extend *b-n* into a trilateral root (Fleisch, Tr. #100e, and cf. 4.71 n 1).

(2) 'Paragraph' was inserted here to give some coherence to this rather clumsy backward reference: aṣ-Ṣirbīnī is here apparently making his own paraphrase of Qaṭr 224-5.

23.8 (1) The arbitrary shortening of the vocative noun, termed *tarkīm* 'softening' is dealt with at length by most grammarians even though it hardly occurs outside poetry, e.g. *yā sāḥi* 'O friend' (for *yā sāḥibu*), *yā māli* 'O Mālik' (for *yā māliku*, S. 43 v 77: the speakers, it is said, were too weak to finish the word, *Qaṭr* 232). *Jum.* 181; *Muf.* #58; *Alf.* v 608; *Qaṭr* 231.

24.0 (1) *Muf.* #71; *Alf.* v 298; *Qaṭr* 244; *Fleisch* 179; *Nöldeke* 34. Terminology: *al-mafʿūl lah* 'that for which it is done', *al-mafʿūl min ʿajlih* (or *li-ʿajlih*) 'that because of which it is done'; see 24.6 n 1.

24.1 (1) *sabab wuqūʿ al-fiʿl*, translated literally (see 24.22 n 1 on *sabab* 'cause'), leaving open the question of whether *fiʿl* is the technical term 'verb' or the common noun 'action', see further 16.1 n 1.

(2) *ḥukm*, plur. *ʾaḥkām*, here translated '(grammatical) rule' is one of the terms which entered grammar in its second phase of contact with the law, during the ninth century, when legal methodology was becoming established (e.g. *al-Mubarrad*, *Muqtaḍab* II, 96, 225, 237, 314 etc.). It retains its full legal meaning in grammar, viz. 'rule, precept', but note that, at an even later stage (not before the 10th cent.), *ḥukm* was borrowed again, this time from philosophy, see 12.1 n 3, 19.7 n 1). Though himself heavily influenced by law (cf. *Carter*, *R.E.I.* 40, 86), *Sibawayhi* never uses *ḥukm* (see *Troupeau*, *Lex.-Index*, root *ḥ-k-m*), but the examples from *Muqtaḍab* certainly show that the term was current long before the 10th cent. (cf. *A. Mehiri*, *Les théories grammaticales d'Ibn Jinnī*, Tunis 1973, 122). See *E.I.* (2), art. 'Ḥukm' II, for an exhaustive treatment by *Fleisch* of *ḥukm* as 'rule' in grammar.

24.21 (1) Behind the term *maṣḍar* 'verbal noun' hides an obscure aspect of the earliest stage of Arabic linguistic speculation. It means lit. 'source, origin', but it is unknown whether this referred originally to a lexical feature (scil. 'root meaning') or an etymological one (scil. 'root form'), to mention only the two most obvious possibilities. While there is no doubt that Arab grammarians of the time of *az-Zajjājī* and later have assimilated Greek ideas on the 'verbal noun'; there is no evidence of a Greek connection in the period of *Sibawayhi* or before (see *Versteegh* 83-89). See further 17.1 n 2.

(2) *ism ʿayn*, lit. 'name of a thing in itself' (cf. *ʿayn*, 13.31), synonym *ism ḡāt* 'name of a being' (*ḡāt*, 23.1 n 2), and *ism maʿnā*, lit. 'name of an idea' (*maʿnā*, 2.1 n 2) are the two types of common noun, 3.64 n 2.

24.22 (1) Both *ʿilla* 'reason' and *sabab* 'cause' seem to be used more or

less indiscriminately (cf. *E.I.* (1), Suppl., art. 'Sabab'), though *ʿilla* has become the key term in Arabic theoretical linguistics, both in the treatment of grammatical causality and the critique of method, each pursued to a high level of abstraction, v. *E.I.* (2), art. 'Cilla'.

24.23 (1) Spelling instructions (3.44 n 2) are necessary here because active and passive participles differ only by one vowel (v. 10.36 n 2).

(2) Orthographically *muʿallil* and *muʿallal* are both *mʿll*, with diacritical vowels and a sign over what aš-Širbīnī calls 'the first l' to show that it is doubled. This sign is called *šadda* or *tašdīd*, lit. 'tying together', written as a small, vestigial *š* over the affected consonant.

(3) Both MSS have *mutaʿakkir* *ʿan* 'later than', but this is clearly a mistake, and has been corrected according to aš-Širbīnī's source, al-Azharī, *Taṣr.* I, 335. The error may be due to confusion with the example to be discussed in 24.53.

24.24 (1) See 16.501 for the free object pronoun *ʿiyyāya* and 16.312 n 1 for the operation of verbal nouns corresponding to both subjective and objective genitives in English. See also 24.31 n 1.

24.25 (1) *ʿafʿāl al-qulūb*, lit. 'verbs of the hearts', the heart being the seat of the intellect (Beeston 115), and explained by al-Azharī, *Taṣr.* I, 334, as meaning 'verbs of the inner self' (*ʿafʿāl an-nafs al-bāṭiniyya*) in contrast with 'verbs of the extremities' (*ʿafʿāl al-jawāriḥ*). These latter include the 'verbs of the tongue' (*ʿafʿāl al-lisān*) and 'verbs of the hand' (*ʿafʿāl al-yad*) mentioned here by aš-Širbīnī, though whether we should also reckon among them the 'verbs of the (five) senses' (*ʿafʿāl al-ḥawāss*) is not certain, as they show signs of assimilating to the 'mental verbs', see further 10.71. It goes without saying that these semantic categorizations are completely lacking from the earliest grammar, though there are signs of their emergence as early as al-Mubarrad (d. 898), e.g. 'verbs of being near', *ʿafʿāl al-muqāraba* (q.v. 10.101 n 1), *Muqtaḍab* III, 68.

(2) The traditional method of instruction was for the pupil to learn a book by heart through hearing it recited from memory by the teacher.

24.31 (1) Although the object of reason may be defined (see 24.32) it is usually undefined, and cannot therefore be annexed to its direct object (cf. 16.512 n 1). In that case a paraphrase is used, namely to prefix the direct object with *li* 'of, to', as in *qirāʿatan li-l-ʿilmi* 'because of lecturing in science' in 24.25 and *ʿijlālan li-Camrin* 'out of respect for *ʿAmr*' here. The same procedure is used if the verbal noun is already annexed to its agent, e.g. *qatlu zaydin li-Camrin* 'Zayd's killing of *ʿAmr*', i.e. the killing by Zayd of *ʿAmr*. With pronoun objects *li* or *ʿiyyā* may be used: *qatluhu lahu/ʿiyyāhu* 'his killing of him'.

(2) See 5.82 n 6 on '(semantically) connected', and cf. 10.34 n 1 on Stem IV verbal noun *ʿijlāl*, from 'doubled' root (11.3 n 1), *j-l-l*.

24.32 (1) See 13.12 n 1 on the initial juncture feature in *ibtigāʾ*, a Stem VIII verbal noun (10.34 n 1) of weak 3rd rad. stem *b-ḡ-y*.

(2) Segmented *qaṣad-tu-ka*: verb stem (5.1 n 2), agent pronoun suffix (7.51) and direct object pronoun suffix (16.303). Note that this verb of motion is directly transitive to its goal, cf. 18.108 n 2.

(3) Note that *ibtigā'* is not defined by annexation to *ma^Crūf*, because the annexation is purely 'formal' (26.92), i.e. the elements are not in a possessive or explanatory relationship. A paraphrase in the form of a circumstantial qualifier (ch. 19; these may also denote purpose) shows that the object of reason is intrinsically undefined: *mubtaḡiyan ma^Crūfaka* 'desiring your favour' (*ma^Crūfa* marked as a direct object), cf. Nöldeke 34 and see also 24.52 n 2.

24.4 (1) See 16.309 n 1 on transitivity. A glance at the dependent noun summary in ch. 15 will confirm that it is misleading to associate transitivity too closely with direct objects. It is better to consider first the binary structure of the minimal sentence (20.01 n 1), from which it emerges that elements occupying the 'third' position will be prepositional phrases (9.74 n 2) or dependent nouns (19.1 n 1). It also follows that, since all verbs are sentences (7.9 n 1), dependent nouns are really operated upon by sentences: this accounts for the occurrence of dependent nouns after verbless sentences, see 19.25 n 1.

24.5 (1) See 24.23 n 2 on the spelling instructions. 'Condition' is *ṣart*, the same as for the protasis of a conditional sentence (5.811 n 1) and 'allowing' paraphrases *jawāz* 'permissibility', q.v. 9.8 n 2.

(2) 'Particle of causation' is *ḥarf at-ta^Clīl* (see 1.92 n 1 on this way of identifying particles): *ta^Clīl* is the verbal noun cognate with *mu^Callīl*, i.e. Stem II, doubled root *C-l-l* (see 10.34 n 1). For *bi* see 1.707, for *li* 1.709, for *fī* 1.705 and for *min* 1.701.

24.51 (1) S. 2 v 29, previously quoted in 13.42 to illustrate the occurrence of *jamī^Can* 'totally' as a circumstantial qualifier of *mā fī l-'arḡi* 'what is in the earth'. By no stretch of the imagination could the phrase *lakum* 'for you' be regarded as an object of reason (it also infringes conditions (4) and (5)). Strangely, in the light of his theological scruples elsewhere (v. 5.751 n 1), aṣ-Ṣirbīnī does not flinch from implying that God's creation is dependent upon some external cause (perhaps because here he is following Qaṭr 245).

24.52 (1) The reference is to a method of execution by tying up the victim and either throwing at him till he dies or allowing him to die by neglect (the same was also done with animals), a practice much disapproved of by Muḥammad (see Wensinck, *Concordance* III, 242).

(2) This is, in fact, classified as a circumstantial qualifier (cf. *Muf.* #76 and 19.33 n 1), though Nöldeke 33 objects that it is neither, but an example of the gerund, on the grounds that it fails to meet the condition of being a predicate of its antecedent (19.7). The line between the object of reason and circumstantial qualifier is, however, by nature narrow: it would be difficult to distinguish, for example, between 'he stood in respect' and 'he stood out of respect'. Cf. 24.32 n 3

24.53 (1) *Schaw. Ind.* 194; this is the first half-line of a verse by Imrū l-Qays, and concludes *ladā s-sitri 'illā libsata l-mutafaḍḍili* 'at the curtain, except for the garment of one about to repose'.

(2) The difference in time would not of itself disqualify *nawm* 'sleep' from being an object of reason (it is in fact rule (5) which is operative here): absolute simultaneity is fundamentally irrelevant to this construction, proved by such well-formed examples as *ji'tuka 'iṣlāḥan li-'amrika* 'I came to you for the betterment of your situation', where the time relationship is totally vague. What is essential is that the verbal noun should express a logical reason for the action, cf. aṣ-Ṣabban on al-Uṣmūnī on *Alf.* v 299, drawing on al-Astarābādī, op. cit. 1.23 n 1, I, 175.

24.54 (1) *Schaw. Ind.* 88; this is the first half-line of a verse ending *kamā ntafaḍa l-cuṣfūru ballalahu l-qaṭru* 'as the bird shakes when soaked by rain'. The second hemistich is quoted in its own right as an example of a past tense verb as a circumstantial qualifier, viz. *ballalahu* lit. 'it soaked him', i.e. 'it having been soaked', cf. *Inṣāf* prob. 32. On 'innī for 'innanī 'verily I...' cf. 10.55 n 3.

(2) See 16.504 on 'iyyāki, here required as a free direct object because *ḍikrī* 'my thinking' is already an annexed unit (subjective genitive, see 24.31 n 1). Contrast the paraphrase *ḍikrī* 'my thinking' (see 3.421 n 3 on possessive suffix *i*) + 'iyyāki with *ḍikrāki* 'the thought of you', invariable fem. noun *ḍikrā* (4.2 (c)) and possessive suffix *ki* (4.72 (2)).

24.55 (1) S. 6 v 151. This can usefully be compared with S. 17 v 31: *wa-lā taqtulū 'awlāḍakum ḡaṣyata 'imlāqin* 'and do not kill your children out of fear of destitution', where *ḡaṣyata 'imlāqin* 'out of fear of destitution' is a regular object of reason as in 24.32.

(2) See 1.701 on *min* in general. The category *min at-ta^Clīliyya* 'causative *min*' is somewhat ad hoc, probably a simple extension of its original partitive function, scil. 'as part of becoming destitute' etc.

24.6 (1) The work is unfortunately not to be found (0.4 n 6). Historically the 'object of reason', like some other constructions (e.g. the 'wa of accompaniment', ch. 25) seems to have become more autonomous with age: al-Farrā' (d. 822, 1.21 n 2) does not identify it in *Ma^Cānī* II, 123, where one might expect it (and cf. id. I, 17), while Sībawayhi has so many names for it (*mawqū^C lah* 'that for which it happens', *cuḍr* 'excuse', *tafsīr li-mā qablah* 'explanation for what precedes', *ma^Cūl lah* 'that for which it is done', cf. *Kitāb* I, 184) that we must assume he did not want to make a technicality of it. For Reckendorf, *Ar. Synt.* 100, it is simply a variety of the 'absolute object' (q.v. ch. 17).

25.0 (1) *Muf.* #68; *Alf.* v 311; *Qaṭr* 251; *Fleisch* 191; *Nöldeke* 42; *Fleischer, Kl. Schr.* II, 99. Terminology: *al-maf^Cūl ma^Cah* 'that with which it is done', *wāw al-ma^Ciyya* 'the wa of witness' (v. 11.721 n 4 on such abstract nouns, and cf. 5.54 n 2 on letter-names for one-letter particles—*wāw* = 'w'); *wāw bi-ma^Cnā ma^Ca* 'wa in the meaning of "with"; *wāw aṣ-ṣarf* 'wa of diversion'. Origins 25.1 n 2; cf. also 25.11 n 4.

(2) 'Productive' here renders *qiyāsī*, lit. 'analogical' (see 8.3 n 2), i.e. a valid basis for analogical extension: the antonym is *samā^Cī*, lit. 'by hearing', i.e. isolated recorded data not to be generalized.

25.1 (1) On *mufrad* 'single' see 23.431 n 1.

(2) *Fleisch* 191 suggests that this is not an inflection, but a relic of the ā ending still found in lamentation etc. (23.22): he finds a possible model in such expressions as *mā 'anā wa-l-mujūna* (<**mujūnā*) 'what have I to do with obscenity!?', lit. 'what am I and obscenity!?'.

(3) See 19.1 on *faḍla* 'redundant element', and see further 25.23.

(4) Observe that intention is a necessary component, cf. 20.13 n 3.

(5) 'Sentence containing a verb' should be 'verbal sentence' (*jumla fi^Cliyya*, 7.1 n 1: word order is decisive), but anticipates the looser formulation used later and in 25.11, *jumla dāt fi^Cl*, lit. 'sentence possessing a verb', i.e. regardless of word order.

(6) See 17.5 on 'constituent letters', which here simply means that the operator must be deverbative (cf. 10.34 n 1).

25.11 (1) The verb in these examples is a 'hollow verb' (10.23 n 2), which in the agent noun pattern *fā^Cil* (10.34 n 1) acquires a dummy radical ', hence *sā'ir* instead of **sāyir*.

(2) See 1.5 on *al* as a noun marker, 11.41 n 2 on assimilation *l > n*.

(3) A neat statement of this characteristic feature of dependent elements, see further 24.4 n 1.

(4) For the 'Baṣrans' (9.4 n 3) *wa* simply mediates (cf. 16.309 n 1) between verb and noun, but the 'Kūfans' attribute the dep. form to a kind of discongruence which they term *ṣarf* 'diversion, deviation', i.e. the difference in function between the two nouns on each side of *wa* (cf. *Inṣāf* prob. 30). A closer study suggests that the 'Baṣrans' originally shared this view, see *Carter, Arabica* 20, 292, and 25.34 n 1.

25.21 (1) This is a true case of 'wa of accompaniment' but is excluded here simply because the topic happens to be nouns. It is easy to see that this *wa* is not a coordinating conjunction (12.1): the command is

not 'do not eat fish, and also do not drink milk', but 'do not eat fish and drink milk at the same time', see further 25.33.

25.22 (1) In this example the sentence introduced by *wa* 'and' is one of the varieties of circumstantial qualifier (see 19.9 n 1). It has a particularly close resemblance to the 'wa of accompaniment' structure (a) in that the *wa* does mean something like 'with, while', and (b) in each case the *wa*-phrases are structurally redundant.

(2) The 'first instance' referred to here is the example given in the previous paragraph.

25.23 (1) It should be pointed out that structural redundancy is an ideal condition which cannot always be fulfilled (especially with circumstantial qualifiers, q.v. 19.6). See further 25.5.

(2) There might seem to be a semantic restraint here (co-operation requires at least two people), but a purely formal explanation is also possible: verbs with the *t* infix (Stem VIII, q.v. at 8.68 n 1) often denote reciprocal activities, hence two different agents may be needed. 'Structurally indispensable' renders *ʕumda*, see 20.01 n 1.

25.24 (1) This distinction is necessary because single nouns which function as verb qualifiers all have dependent form, as if they were direct objects of the verb (but see 24.4 n 1).

25.25 (1) Though *maʕa* 'with' is here synonymous with a 'wa of accompaniment', it is a pure space-qualifier which can only occur in annexation to its noun (see 18.208).

25.26 (1) So far *aš-širbīnī* has been following fairly closely *al-Azhari Taṣr.* I, 342, but here he must be drawing upon some other source, most likely *Qaṭr* 252 (or perhaps his own lost *Commentary* thereon, 0.4 n 6), for the importance of intention (20.13 n 3). The example is not well chosen: it is impossible to tell, as both nouns are dependent, whether the second is an object of accompaniment or merely coordinated. *Qaṭr* 252 is better, with *jāʿa zaydun wa-ʕamrun* 'Zayd and ʕAmr came', ruling out *wa-ʕamran* as an object of accompaniment. See 12.1 on coordination.

25.27 (1) Expressions of this kind are regarded as elliptical nominal sentences without a predicate; moreover, in such quasi-proverbial utterances no predicate can be restored except purely notionally, e.g. in 9.94, which supplies a vague *muḡtarināni* '(are) connected' for the saying *kullu ṣāniʕin wa-mā ṣanaʕa* 'every doer and what he has done'. Nevertheless some grammarians (e.g. *Muf.* #29) allow *kullu rajulin wa-ḡayʕatahu* with dependent form of *ḡayʕatahu* as an object of accompaniment.

25.3 (1) Another example of 'rational dichotomy', q.v. 1.2 n 2.

25.31 (1) Cf. Fleischer, *Kl. Schr.* II, 99 (who uses an alternative name for this *wa*, viz. *wāw al-muṣāḡaba*, 'the *wa* of accompanying'). Doubts exist about the genuineness of the object of accompaniment construction (cf. reservations in 25.0). The example cited by Nöldeke 42, *wa-ʿiyyāhā* 'and her' (cf. 16.509) as proof that it is not an 'invention of the

grammarians' is somewhat weakened by the fact that 'iyyā does not automatically mark the suffixed pronoun as dependent (see 16.502 n 1). And there are inconsistencies in the technical history of the construction: it is described in detail by Sībawayhi (*Kitāb* I, 150) but seems to have been overlooked by grammarians of the following century (or to have been regarded with some perplexity, cf. Carter, *Arabica* 20, 297). It eventually achieved a settled place in the pedagogical scheme by the time of Ibn as-Sarrāj (d. 929, op. cit. 5.3 n 2, 36). Nevertheless it does crop up in modern Arabic (e.g. Cantarino II, 214), though to what extent such occurrences are 'grammaticogenic' is not clear.

(2) This is an example of *taqdīr* (see 2.101 n 1): it comes as close as one could wish to the notion of deep structure in this context, though it is perhaps a pity that no such reconstructions are offered in the place where they would have been expected, i.e. in the analysis of simple coordination (ch. 12).

25.32 (1) The verb *istawā* is a Stem VIII (8.68 n 1) form of the root *s-w-y*, i.e. its second and third radicals (5.1 n 2) are 'defective consonants' (2.43 n 2). However, in this situation the second radical is always syllable-initial, hence behaves as a 'sound' consonant, and only the third radical is weak; *istawā* therefore follows *ra'ā* in the past tense (10.65 n 1) and *yarmī* in the imperfect tense (4.81 n 2(b)). It has no passive, but in any case passives of *w-y* verbs follow *du^ciya* in 10.14 n 1, e.g. *ruwiya* 'it was related', *yurwā* 'it is related'.

(2) Note that the fem. suffix *at* (11.44 n 2) has individualizing function here: *kaṣabatun* 'one piece of wood' contrasts with the unmarked masc. *kaṣabun* 'wood' as a substance. When the system is fully observed (which is not always the case), the fem. sing. takes sound fem. plur.

(3.23) for countables and the masc. takes broken plur. (3.22) for species (cf. generic nouns, 3.64 n 2). Fleisch 45.

(3) This specious explanation may be an original contribution from aš-Širbīnī, perhaps developed from al-Azharī, *Āj.* 92.

25.33 (1) This is a paraphrase of a verse often discussed in this context: *lā tanha ʿan kuluqin wa-ta'tiya miṭlahu; ʿārun ʿalayka 'in faʿalta ʿazīmun* 'do not forbid a certain conduct while doing the same yourself; it is a great shame on you if you do' (*Schaw. Ind.* 227). In the prose paraphrase *wa-'ityānahu* 'with the bringing of it' (i.e. doing of it) the dependent verbal noun functions as an object of accompaniment equivalent to the dependent verb *wa-ta'tiya* 'while you bring it' (i.e. do it) in the verse, both with dep. form for the reasons given in the text (but see 25.11 n 4 for 'Baṣran' and 'Kūfan' dispute). Compare also the verse quoted in 5.411, where a different reason (false coordination of verb to noun) is advanced for the dep. *wa-taḡarra* 'and it may relax', and the noun paraphrase *wa-ḡarratu* 'and the relaxation' can only have indep. form because it is correctly coordinated to the indep. noun *lubsu* 'the wearing'. Cf. also next note.

25.34 (1) The example is a pure grammarians' fiction (cf. 25.31 n 1), and genuine cases of this construction are rare. However, it does

illustrate neatly one of the characteristic features of the dependent form, viz. the tendency not only to be structurally redundant (19.1 n 1 and cf. 25.11), but also to be excluded semantically from the antecedent ('continuous' exception, 21.1, is a good example). For this reason the dependent form is often attributed to the property of being different from, or not included in the antecedent, expressed as *ṣarf* 'diversion' or *kilāf* 'difference', cf. Carter, *Arabica* 20, 292, *B.S.O.A.S.* 35, 491.

25.4 (1) See 3.0 n 2 on 'aṣl 'norm'. Both *ḍaʿīf* 'weak' and *qawī* 'strong' have been used as value terms for well-formedness from the earliest grammar (see Troupeau, *Lex.-Index*, roots *ḍ*-^C-f, *q*-w-y), and see Baalbaki, *Z.A.L.* 2, 16 on *qawī*.

25.5 (1) See 25.23. Cantarino II, 215 has a remarkable example, *iṣṭaraka wa-ʿismāʿīla* 'he collaborated with Ismāʿīl': presumably the author avoided the regular coordination *iṣṭaraka huwa wa-ʿismāʿīlu* 'he and Ismāʿīl collaborated' because it transfers the emphasis from the action to the participants. See 12.11 n 3 on coordination to pronouns.

25.6 (1) One object which did not catch on in the general exploitation of Sībawayhi's *Kitāb* is the *maʿḥūl minhu*, 'that from which it is done', referring to the dependent form in such constructions as 'iyyāka wa-l-ʿasada 'beware of the lion!' (and cf. 26.96 'iyyāka ʿan taḏunna 'beware of thinking...'). Sībawayhi explains 'iyyāka as the direct object of an elided verb (scil. 'I warn'), and al-ʿasada as a *maʿḥūl minhu* 'that which it is (warned) about', *Kitāb* I, 138.

25.61 (1) See 10.1 on *kāna* etc., and 6.4 n 2 on 'related'.

(2) See 10.4.

(3) See 10.6. There are inconsistencies in the manuscripts (cf. 15.14) and/or in Ibn ʿAjurrūm's arithmetic: we accept aṣ-Ṣīrībīnī's explanation that the two objects of *ḡanantu* form one item of the inventory, likewise the four concordants together, thus making the fifteen required.

(4) See ch. 11.

(5) See ch. 12.

(6) See ch. 13.

(7) See ch. 14.

(8) See 10.1 n 3 on *nawāsiḡ* 'cancellers'. Other dependent forms not dealt with by aṣ-Ṣīrībīnī: 16.311 n 1 (dep. forms in isolation); 20.9 n 1 ('specialization'); 22.6 n 1 (*lā* 'not' with single nouns); 25.6 n 1 (warnings), and cf. 11.6 for the suspension of adjectival concordance.

25.62 (1) Cf. 9.3 n 1 on the practice of computing grammatical features. The actual arrangement of material is not without interest, as it reveals differences in approach: thus *Muf.* treats concordants entirely under oblique elements and makes one chapter of *kāna* and 'inna, while *Qaṭr* disperses dependent elements throughout the book, treating the vocative as a subdivision of the direct object (cf. 16.6 n 2).

(2) Note how, in this paragraph, *bāb* (lit. 'door') is used to mean both 'category' (other examples 1.41, 21.1) and 'chapter'.

(3) By way of conclusion, here is a sentence containing six qualifiers in dep. form and one prepositional phrase: *ḍarabtu ḍarban zaydan bi-sawṭin nahāran hunā ta'dīban wa-ṭulū'a š-šamsi* 'I struck hard Zayd with a whip by day here as a discipline with the sun rising' (Goguyer, *Qaṭr* 256 n 7, taken from aṣ-Ṣabbān on al-Uṣmūnī on *Alf.* v 315).

26.0 (1) *Jum.* 72, 155; *Muf.* #110, 498; *Alf.* vv 364, 385; *Qaṭr* 279; Beeston 45, 88; Fleisch 170; Yushmanov 61, 64; Bateson 44, 48. There are two unexplained sets of parallel terminology:

jarr or *kaḍ* 'obliqueness, oblique function', see further 3.8 n 1,

jārr or *kāfiḍ* 'making oblique, obliqueness operator', cf. 2.11 n 1,

majrūr or *maḵfūd* 'made oblique, oblique element', see 3.84 n 3.

Apart from Sībawayhi, who uses only *jarr*, most grammarians seem to use both sets indiscriminately, though traditionally *jarr* was said to be a 'Baṣran' and *kaḍ* a 'Kūfan' term (q.v. 9.4 n 3).

(2) See 26.72 on explanatory annexation, 2.44 on the lack of oblique form in verbs, and cf. 2.101 n 1 on *taqdīr* 'implicit meaning'.

26.01 (1) In Western terms this also includes all those 'prepositions' which were, and often still are nouns (cf. 18.4 n 2), hence this category is structurally identical with the next one, annexation.

(2) As Arabic nouns only have three cases, of which one (independence) is a marker of subject or predicate status (chs. 7-9) and another (dependence) marks structural redundancy (cf. 19.1), annexation remains as the only possible bond between nouns (excluding concordance, chs. 11-14 and the small, unproductive class of genuine compound nouns, 3.411 n 5).

(3) See 1.31 n 4 on this argument. Al-Aḵfaṣ (here cited via al-Azharī, *Āj.* 93) is best known for having preserved and transmitted Sībawayhi's *Kitāb* in the version which we now have. He died in 830 or 835; *G.A.L.* I, 105, Fleisch, *Tr.* p. 31, *E.I.* (2), art. 'al-Aḵḥfaṣ', sect. II.

(4) S. 1 v 1, parsed above in 1.31.

26.1 (1) *Jum.* 72; *Muf.* #498; *Alf.* v 364; *Qaṭr* 279; Fleisch 175. Note the pedagogical enumeration (cf. 9.3 n 1), which is extended by *Qaṭr* to twenty-one by including *lawlā* 'if not for' (6.6 n 6), on the grounds that it may take pronoun suffixes (e.g. *lawlāka* 'if not for you', but *lawlā 'anta* 'if not for you', with free independent pronoun, is the regular construction).

(2) See 21.5 for these.

(3) A tribe east of Mecca, regarded as speaking a western dialect with heavy eastern influences, v. Rabin, *Anc. West-Ar.* ch. 8, *E.I.* (2), s.v.

(4) The usage is probably genuine enough (see this and other examples in Rabin, *Anc. West-Ar.* 91), though grammarians never mastered it.

(5) See 10.46 on normal *la^calla*. The ^cUqayl tribe inhabited the eastern dialect area of the Najd, v. Rabin, *Anc. West-Ar.* 3.

(6) *Schaw. Ind.* 226; the line concludes *bi-šay'in 'anna 'ummakum šarīmun* 'through something, i.e. that your mother had a ruptured peritoneum'. The verse is as anonymous as it is unpleasant.

(7) Both MSS have 'an (5.41) for *kay* here, suggesting that the confusion stems from aš-Širbīnī's radical simplification of al-Azharī, *Tašr.* II, 3: this states that *kay* is a preposition because it is prefixed to nominalized clauses (see 5.44 n 1) and also to the pronoun *mā* 'what', viz. *kaymā*, synonymous with *limā* 'for what, why?', see 5.44 n 4.

26.2 (1) See 26.64 for other methods of classification.

(2) The Qur'anic illustrations (cf. 1.704 n 2) are provided by Ibn Hišām, via al-Azharī, *Tašr.* II, 3f, contrast 1.701-13, where aš-Širbīnī was drawing on al-Azharī, *Āj.* 14 in his treatment of the same particles.

26.21 (1) S. 33 v 7, and see 1.701; on 'fundamental particle', lit. 'mother of the particles' cf. 6.4 n 2, and see also 18.41 n 3.

26.22 (1) S. 5 v 48, S. 6 v 60 respectively; note that *ā* becomes *ay* before pronoun suffixes (1.702 n 1), entailing here the change *hu* to *hi* by vowel harmony (13.9 n 9).

26.23 (1) S. 84 v 19, S. 5 v 119 respectively. The latter has become the normal invocation after the mention of any dead person except Muḥammad (cf. 14.34 n 3 on optative verbs). See also 1.703.

26.24 (1) S. 23 v 22: this example (like the one in 26.21) has the added distinction of illustrating both oblique noun and oblique pronoun in the same sentence! See also 1.704.

26.25 (1) S. 51 v 20, S. 43 v 71 respectively (note *al-'anfusu* 'the souls' here in its literal meaning, contrast 13.9). Brockelmann, *Grundr.* II, 371, says that *fī* 'in' is originally the oblique form of *fū* 'mouth' (q.v. 3.42, and cf. 3.61 n 1). It is classified by Fleisch, *Tr.* #151f without comment as a peculiarly Arab creation.

26.26 (1) S. 3 v 179, S. 17 v 107 respectively, and see 1.707, 26.4. In common with other invariable elements (negatives, conditionals, ch. 5; conjunctions, ch. 12; demonstratives, 11.73, pronouns, 11.71 etc.), *bi* and most other prepositions are primitive roots which lie outside the derivational system (Beeston 31; Fleisch 134; Bateson 37). Some former nouns (e.g. *min*, 1.701) and verbs (e.g. *la^calla*, 10.46, *kalā*, 21.5) have drifted into this category. Others seem to be in the process of doing so, e.g. *qablu* etc., see 18.4 n 2, 18.41 n 2.

26.27 (1) S. 2 v 284, S. 2 v 116 respectively, and see 1.709, 26.4; *li* is possibly cognate with *'ilā* (q.v. 26.22), Brockelmann, *Grundr.* II, 377. Note that *li* (and also *inda* 'with', 18.207, *ma^ca* 'with', 18.208) paraphrases the Eng. 'to have, possess' (cf. 26.71), and see also 14.2 n 2. The alternation *li* before nouns, *la* before pronouns (except of course *lī* 'to me, mine') is unexplained.

26.3 (1) But see 26.33 and 26.4 n 2 for rare exceptions; for *zāhir* 'overt (noun)' see 7.2 n 1. The distributional criteria here are taken from Ibn Hišām, via al-Azhari, *Taṣr.* II, 3.

26.31 (1) See 5.53, 12.91 on *ḥattā*; 1.708, 26.4 on *ka*; 1.711, 26.5 on *wa* (also 12.1 on *wa* as a coordinating conjunction).

26.32 (1) See 26.62, esp. n 2, on the reason why these were left till last by Ibn Ājurrūm, which has been obscured by aš-Širbīnī's arbitrary rearrangement of the material (on which see 26.4 n 1).

26.33 (1) See 11.8 n 1 on *nakira* 'undefined'.

(2) See 1.706. This word has contrary meanings, as appears in the translation: the phenomenon itself was well known to the Arabs, who made collections of such words under the heading of *'aḍḍād*, lit. 'opposites' (see E.I. (2), art. *'Aḍḍād*', D. Cohen, *Études de linguistique sémitique et arabe*, The Hague/Paris 1970, 79, 101, esp. 95, and for *rubba* in particular Fleisch, *Tr.* #118n-q). Curiously enough, *rubba* itself does not appear in standard collections of words with contrary meanings, unlike *warā'a* 'behind/in front of', q.v. 18.204.

(3) See ch. 20 on *tamyīz* 'specifying element'.

(4) *Schaw. Ind.* 16. Points to note in this verse: *fityatan* 'as to youths', a specifying element, plural by poetic licence; *da^cawtu* 'I called', weak 3rd radical (10.14 n 2); *yūriṭu* 'bequeathes', Stem IV of 1st rad. *w* (= *yuwriṭu*, 8.63 n 1); *dā'iban* 'habitually' (variant *dā'iman* 'always', 18.32 n 3), circumstantial qualifier (ch. 19); *'ajābū* 'they answered', Stem IV of hollow verb (8.73 n 1).

26.34 (1) See 1.713 and further examples in 26.5.

(2) S. 21 v 57. Note the collocation of asseverative *ta* and verbs prefixed with 'emphatic *la*' (*lām at-tawkīd*, 13.6 n 3) and suffixed with 'emphatic *n*' (*nūn at-tawkīd*): this *n* is realized as a 'light' (*ḥafīfa*) form *an* (other examples 1.4, 5.32) or a 'heavy' (*ṭaqīla*) form *anna* (see 3.241 n 2; other examples 2.101, 3.241, 5.32, 5.56, 9.92, 13.6). It has the effect of obliterating mood inflections, though these are in any case assumed to be those of the apocopated form (paradigms Fleisch 108, *Tr.* #119w, and cf. id. #120j, 5.32 n 4). 'Baṣṣans' and 'Kūfans' (9.4 n 3) argued with each other (*Inṣāf*, prob. 94) as to whether *an* was derived by lightening *anna* or vice versa, the 'Kūfans' maintaining the former view, the 'Baṣṣans' insisting that neither was derived from the other!

(3) See Fischer, op. cit. 1.711 n 1, for numerous other forms of oath, including some entirely without particles, e.g. *allāha* 'by God', 14.62.

26.4 (1) The order that aš-Širbīnī is following is based on *Qaṭr* 279, incorporating Ibn Hišām's own comments on *Alf.* v 364f as expanded in turn by al-Azharī, *Taṣr.* II, 3f (cf. 3.63 n 1).

(2) The grammarians cite rare instances of pronoun suffixation to *ka*, e.g. *kaḥā* 'like her' (*Alf.* v 368, and cf. al-Uṣmūnī ad loc. for ḥattāka 'till you' etc.). On *ka* see further 1.708.

26.5 (1) See 1.71, 1.711. Note that this *wa* (like all the particles of swearing) may be prefixed with coordinating *wa* 'and' (12.1), e.g. *wa-wa-llāhi* 'and by God!', and *wa-ta-llāhi* in 16.34.

(2) See 1.712, 26.26 on *bi*, 1.713, 26.34 on *ta*. The best known oath beginning with *bi* is surely *bi-smi llāhi r-raḥmāni r-raḥīmi* 'in the name of God, the Compassionate and Merciful', q.v. 1.0 and notes.

26.61 (1) See 1.706, 26.33 on *rubba*; in this function *wa* always means 'how many', but its relation to coordinating *wa* (12.1) and asseverative *wa* (26.5) is obscure (Fleisch, *Tr.* #151g). Here we may include predicative *kam* 'how many a...' (contrast interrogative *kam*, 20.6 n 2), e.g. *kam dam^Catin ḍarafnāhā* 'how many a tear we shed' (Cantarino I, 158); *Jum.* 145; *Muf.* #217; *Alf.* v 746; *Qaṭr* 266; Fleisch, *Tr.* #149n.

26.62 (1) *Jum.* 150; *Muf.* ##203, 510; *Alf.* v 379; *Qaṭr* 282; Fleisch, *Tr.* #151h: *muḍ* is a contraction of *munḍu*, from **min ḡū* 'from that' (cf. 11.731 on deictic element *ḡ*).

(2) These two are left till last because (a) they are restricted to occurrence before nouns of specific time (never pronouns) and (b) they may be followed by independent nouns as well as oblique nouns (see n 3).

(3) See 2.101 on *taqḍīr* 'implicit meaning'. This distinction (from Ibn Hišām, *Muḡnī* II, 21) is entirely artificial: it is of more use to know that in positive sentences *munḍu* can correspond to English 'ago', e.g. *waṣalnā munḍu ṭalāṭati 'ayyāmin* 'we arrived three days ago' (Cantarino II, 346). The alternative with indep. nouns is doubtless the original structure, scil. **min ḡū 'āmāni* 'since that (was) two years' (Fleisch, loc. cit. n 1, cf. Rabin, *Anc. West-Ar.* 187), with assimilation to the syntax of *min* 'from', which often has the meaning of 'since'.

26.63 (1) These are indeed dealt with in the chapter on exception, viz. 21.5, but the reference to 'the beginning of the book' is obscure. Both MSS insist on *kitāb* 'book' here, rather than *bāb* 'chapter', so if this refers to 26.1, where *kalā* etc. are mentioned, perhaps *kitāb* must be taken in a loose sense as 'booklet', i.e. part of the major work. Or possibly aš-Širbīnī had a copy of al-Azharī's *Taṣrīḥ* with the same divisions as current printed versions: these dismiss *kalā* etc. on the very first page of vol. II, which aš-Širbīnī might thoughtlessly have copied.

26.64 (1) See 1.701 n 2 on *ma^Cānī* 'senses'.

(2) The work is unfortunately lost, however the information given here is substantially the same as *Muf.* #498, except that *ḥalā* has been made into a category of its own. Among other ways of classifying these elements are (a) according to the number of letters (*Qaṭr* 281), and (b) by

distribution, which is the method of Ibn Ājurrūm above.

(3) Of all these *muḍ* and *muḍu* are regarded as invariable nouns which have acquired prepositional status (*Muf.* #510), *Can* and *Calā* are nouns when operated upon by *min* (18.41 n 3, *Muf.* ##507, 508), and *ka* is a noun when operated upon by *Can* (*Muf.* #509); *Calā* is only a verb insofar as it has a productive verbal cognate *Calā* 'to be high'.

26.7 (1) *Jum.* 75, 155; *Muf.* #110; *Alf.* v 385; *Qaṭr* 283; Beeston 45; *Fleisch* 170; Bateson 48; Yushmanov 64; Nöldeke 29. Terminology: '*iḍāfa* 'annexation', lit. 'causing to lean or incline' *muḍāf* 'annexed element', lit. 'thing made to lean against another' *muḍāf* '*ilayh* 'element to which another is annexed', lit. 'thing against which something has been made to lean', see further 26.7 n 3. See also: annexation structure 26.91 n 1; annexation to pronouns 11.718 n 2; objective and subjective annexation 16.512 n 1, 24.31 n 1; semantic categories 26.71 n 1; formal categories 26.93 n 1.

(2) See *G.A.L.* II, 109, *E.I.* (2), art. 'Abū Ḥayyān al-Ġharnāṭī' on Abū Ḥayyān, born in Granada, died 1344 after a turbulent career both as a theologian and grammarian. On Abū Ishāq az-Zajjāj, died about 923 and one of the most famous pupils of al-Mubarrad (22.3 n 1) see *G.A.L.* I, 110. The dispute (here paraphrased from al-Azharī, *Taṣr.* II, 24) concerns the problem of 'formal' (*lafẓī*, i.e. some overt element) and 'abstract' (*maḥnawī*, i.e. the annexation function itself) operators, cf. 1.31 n 4. Curiously this problem is not mentioned in *Inṣāf*.

(3) Note that it is the first element which is annexed to the second: in *kitābuhu* 'his book' *kitābu* is prefixed to *hu*, not *hu* suffixed to *kitābu*. A reason for this may be that the form of the first element (i.e. loss of definition markers, 26.91 n 1) is determined by the intention to annex: failing annexation the listener will expect the final *n* (thus *kitābun* 'a book'), this *n* being in complementary distribution with the second element (see 23.2 n 1 on *manzila* 'status', 1.4 on *-n*).

26.71 (1) In fact a third category is identified in 26.9, the Arabs showing commendable restraint in subdividing into only three a structure capable of exhibiting a virtually limitless number of relationships between its constituents (contrast Reckendorf, *Ar. Synt.* 139, *Fleisch* 171, and cf. Gätje, *Die Sprache* 11, 61).

(2) See 26.91 n 3 on *iḳtiṣās* 'particularization', 26.27 on *li* (here *lām al-milk* 'the *li* of ownership'), 2.101 n 1 on 'implicit'.

(3) See 26.7 n 2 for az-Zajjāj.

26.72 (1) See 26.21 on *min*, here *al-bayāniyya* 'explanatory', cf. 5.82 n 3. On purely formal grounds we include here the nouns made oblique by numerals (see 20.22 n 1), viz. plural after numbers 3-10 (e.g. *ḵamsu banātin* '5 girls'), and singular after numbers 100 upwards (e.g. *mi'atu bintin* '100 girls', '*alfā bintin* '2000 girls'), with the reservation that aš-Širbīnī's predicative paraphrase breaks down here, as both *al-ḵamsu banātun* 'the five are girls' and *al-banātu ḵamsun* 'the girls are five in number' are possible (perhaps 26.72 n 5 applies).

(2) 'Main principle' is *dābiṭ*, lit. 'controller', elsewhere also translated as 'axiom', e.g. 3.422.

(3) Genuine semantic restraints may be operating here and at 20.3, 20.41 n 1, since one element in the construction is always a substance or measure. Evidently in both cases the original structure was appositional (*raṭlun zaytun* 'a ratl-weight, oil', *ṭawbun kazzun* 'a garment, silk') the latter then assimilating to the annexation structure (see Fleischer, *Kl. Schr.* II, 1, 74, and cf. 11.9 n 1).

(4) Note in passing the suggestion (Fleisch, *Tr.* #56b, Bravmann, *J.A.O.S.* 81, 386) that the obliqueness marker *i* (3.8) may be connected with the gentilic suffix *ī* (11.721 n 3).

(5) In *Inṣāf* prob. 61, the 'Baṣrans' (9.4 n 3) disallow annexation of synonyms on the grounds that a thing cannot be explanatory of itself: in *masjidu l-jāmiʿi* 'communal mosque', for example, an elliptical **masjidi l-mawḍiʿi l-jāmiʿi* 'mosque of the gathering place' is assumed.

26.73 (1) Observe how Arabic uses annexation to reproduce compound nouns from other languages, e.g. *kuṣku l-kutubi* 'bookstall', lit. 'the kiosk of books'. But Arabic has other resources in its derivational system (10.37 n 1), e.g. *maktabatun* 'bookshop', with the *mafʿal* pattern (18.5 n 1), *kutubī* 'bookseller', with the gentilic suffix (11.721 n 3), *kitābun taʿlīmiyyun* 'textbook', using simple adjectival qualification.

(2) Annexation also occurs with *kull* 'all' etc. (13.4 n 6), *ḡayr* 'other than' etc. (21.4), *ʿayy* 'whichever' (5.861), certain numerals (20.22 n 1), superlatives (22.42 n 3) and space/time qualifiers (ch. 18, esp. 18.34). These last may also be annexed to sentences, either directly, e.g. *yawma wulida* 'on the day he was born' (= *on the day of he was born', cf. 2.44 n 1), or through a nominalizer, e.g. *min qabli ʿan yaʿtiya* 'before it comes' (= *before that it comes', cf. 5.41 n 8).

26.8 (1) Chs. 11-14. Because the annexation unit is indivisible (see 26.91 n 1) adjectives follow it and may qualify either element, marked accordingly: contrast *yadu zaydin iṭ-ṭawīli* 'the hand of tall Zayd' and *yadu zaydin iṭ-ṭawīlatu* 'the long hand of Zayd'.

26.9 (1) Although annexation of agents and direct objects is common, (16.512 n 1) it is felt unusual to annex space/time qualifiers (cf. the reservations about space/time qualifiers in 18.1 n 4).

(2) See 1.02 n 2 on Ibn Mālik. The reference here is to *Alf.* v 386 (ex al-Azharī, *Taṣr.* II, 25 or *Āj.* 95). The phenomenon was known to Sībawayhi, cf. *Kitāb* I, 89, who discusses the two Qurʾanic verses mentioned below and some other interesting possibilities such as *wulida lahu sittūna ʿāman* 'he has been born for sixty years', lit. 'sixty years have been born for him'.

(3) S. 34 v 33, cf. *yā sārīqa l-laylati* 'O thief of the night', *Kitāb*, loc. cit. n 2.

(4) S. 12 v 39; see 23.44 on the juncture feature in *ṣāhibayi*.

(5) Note that aš-Širbīnī does not mention the other two possibilities, that this might be particularizing (26.71) or explanatory (26.72) annexation, perhaps because he knows that some grammarians regard the type *makru l-layli* merely as a variant of one of those two (e.g. al-Jāmī on Ibn al-Ḥāḡib, *Kāfiya* 190, as-Sajā^Cī on *Qaṭr ad loc.*).

26.91 (1) 'Pure annexation' ('*idāfa maḥḍa*, cf. 5.552 n 1 on *maḥḍa*) is an inseparable bonding of two elements, most obvious when the second is a bound pronouns (cf. 26.7 n 3). The first element loses all definition markers (26.93 n 1) but is marked for the function of the whole unit (e.g. *ra'aytu ḡulāma zaydin* 'I saw the slave-boy of Zayd'), while the second is marked with oblique form (*zaydin*) or is a pronoun. If the second element is undefined, e.g. *yadu rajulin* 'the hand of a man', the whole unit is syntactically undefined, but see below, n 3.

(2) See 2.1 n 2 on *ma^Cnawī* 'abstract'.

(3) 'Specialization' is *taḡṣīṣ*, cognate (and almost synonymous with) *iktīṣāṣ* 'particularization' (26.71), in both cases denoting an intermediate stage between absolute definition and indefiniteness (cf. Gätje, *Arabica* 17, 225, esp. 235f): see also 19.71 n 1.

26.92 (1) 'Formal annexation' is '*idāfa lafẓiyya* (v. 2.1 n 2 on *lafẓī*) or *ḡayr maḥḍa* 'impure' (contrast 'pure annexation', 26.91).

(2) See 10.34 n 1 on the formal categories of agent and patient noun; 'quasi-participial adjective' renders *aš-ṣifa l-muṣabbaha (bi-l-fā^Cil)* lit. 'the adjective made to resemble the agent', i.e. one having a verb phrase as its underlying form (see 11.45 n 1). The 'operation' (*ʿamal*, 2.11 n 1) referred to here is in the surface structure, viz. of the annexed noun upon the noun it is annexed to (i.e. making oblique), contrast the deep structure in the paraphrases below.

(3) S. 5 v 95; note that the annexation unit is undefined, concurring with undefined antecedent *hadyan*. The deep structure shows a relative clause, *yabluḡu l-ka^Cbata* 'which reaches the Kaaba' (v. 11.753 n 3 on relative syntax), with *al-ka^Cabata* now marked as a direct object.

(4) The deep structure is *tu^Cmaru dāruhu* 'whose house is inhabited' (i.e. flourishing), itself a transformation of an underlying active verb (cf. 8.2), with *dāruhu* now marked as a 'substitute agent' (8.0 n 3). Unlike *yabluḡu* in n 2, which already contains a referential pronoun (7.58 n 1), *dāruhu* needs an overt referential pronoun.

(5) The deep structure is *yaḥsunu wajhuhu* 'whose face is handsome', with *wajhuhu* now marked as agent (cf. 11.5 n 2).

26.93 (1) In 'pure annexation' (26.91) the second element functions as a definition marker in complementary distribution with *al* 'the' and the suffix *tanwīn* (1.4, 26.7) as well as its allomorphs *na/ni* e.g. *yadā zaydin* 'the two hands of Zayd' etc. (see paradigms 4.5 n 1, 4.6 n 1). But in 'formal annexation' the second element does not define the first and so definition markers must be added as required: contrast *rajulun ḡasanu l-wajhi* 'a man handsome of face' and *ar-rajulu l-ḡasanu l-wajhi*

'the man handsome of face', in which the alternation *ḥasanu/al-ḥasanu* exactly parallels the *Ø-yaḥsunu/allaqī yaḥsunu* of relative clauses (v. 11.753 n 3). Try also Carter, *B.S.O.A.S.* 35, 486).

26.94 (1) 'Properly feminine' (*ṣiḥḥat al-mu'annaṭ*, lit. 'the soundness of the feminine element') is evidently a gratuitous addition by aṣ-Širbīnī to his source (al-Azharī, *Taṣr.* II, 31), apparently meaning that the cases discussed in 26.96 are not covered by this rule. As the phrase only occurs in MS C. it is to be treated with suspicion anyway.

(2) The explanation unwittingly concedes that here it is not so much a case of *ba^cdu* (17.65) acquiring feminine gender as of the verb *qutī^cat* (see 8.0 for 'substitute agent', 3.73 n 5 for verbs as predicates). Cf. attraction in the opposite direction in *ḥaḍara l-qāḍiya mra'atun* 'a woman attended the judge': the masc. verb is allowed by grammarians when not immediately followed by its fem. agent (e.g. *Muf.* #263).

(3) See 21.21 n 2 on 'Reading'; al-Ḥasan al-Baṣrī was a famous ascetic and preacher who died in 728, v. *E.I.* (2), art. 'Ḥasan al-Baṣrī'.

(4) S. 12 v 10; the orthodox Reading is *yaltaqīṭhu*, 3rd. sing. masc., concurring with the grammatical gender of *ba^cdu*, and apocopated according to 5.90 n 2(a). The masc. verb here may be influenced by the fact that the formally fem. *sayyāratun* is really a collective/intensive with masc. connotation, scil. *qawmun sayyāratun* 'travelling people', cf. 11.44 n 2.

(5) See 3.44 n 2 on spelling instructions, here distinguishing masc. *ya* and fem. *ta* of the imperfect tense prefixes (5.3).

26.95 (1) Though lacking a term 'gender' (cf. 11.02 n 1) the Arabs were well aware of its existence: *Muf.* #263 treats the masc. as the unmarked form, fem. as the marked form, and distinguishes between natural gender (*ḥaqīqī* 'true, real') and grammatical gender (*ḡayr ḥaqīqī* 'not real'). See also 11.42 n 1, 11.43 n 3, 11.44 n 2, and 26.96 n 4.

(2) *Schaw. Ind.* 112 (add Abū Ḥayyān, op. cit. 8.67 n 1, 274, which may be the earliest citation of this otherwise anonymous verse). Another example of masc. gender by attraction is *muḵtalifun 'alwānuhu* 'its colours varying' in 7.02, though the attraction here is probably due to the considerations in 11.5, 11.51 (see Reckendorf, *Ar. Synt.* 422 for other examples).

26.96 (1) S. 7 v 56. The prefatory 'perhaps' is needed because there are other explanations, e.g. that *qarībun* concurs with masc. synonyms of *raḥmata* (e.g. *ḡufrān* 'forgiveness' etc.), or that it qualifies an elided masc. noun, scil. *ṣay'un qarībun* 'a near thing'. Note that in the text *raḥmata* is spelt with the 'long t', q.v. 11.42 n 1.

(2) S. 42 v 17. The problem, however, remains, and we may be dealing here with the class of adjectives in the *fa^cīl* pattern (v. 3.411 n 2) which never vary for gender, because they have not lost their original noun status (so *qarībun* by itself may mean 'a near thing', cf. 11.61 n 1).

(3) See 1.21 n 2 on al-Farrā', and Ma^Cānī I, 380 for his comments on *garībun*. Aš-Širbīnī's immediate source, however, is al-Azharī, *Taṣr*. II, 31-32, from which all of 26.94-26.96 is taken.

(4) This is not a rhetorical distinction such as exists between, say, masc. *manzilun* 'real place, dwelling' and fem. *manzilatun* 'metaphorical place, status'. It means that masc. *garībun* does not imply that the grammatical gender of *raḥmata* or *sā^Cata* is also masculine, for if this were generalized there would be no need for fem. adjectives with any nouns except those of natural fem. gender, and this is disproved by *aš-šamsu tāli^Catun*, where the fem. adjective qualifies a noun of unmarked fem. gender.

(5) See 1.02 n 1 on Ibn Hišām; the reference is to *Muḡnī* II, 112-3. It means that nouns may acquire the other gender following a transfer to figurative meaning, but pronouns cannot (so a verbal paraphrase of S. 42 v 17 would have to be *as-sā^Catu qarubat* 'the hour, it is near', with fem. pronoun agent concealed in *qarubat*, 7.58 n 1); cf. *Muf*. #263 end.

EPILOGUE

(1) This is the conventional disclaimer of infallibility which often accompanies anything even slightly speculative in Muslim writings (but whose modesty may cloak a challenge to the reader to do better!).

(2) See 0.5 n 1 on the rhyming title.

(3) This part of aš-Širbīnī's epilogue bears a striking resemblance to the corresponding passage in as-Suyūṭī's Commentary on the *Alfiyya* (e.g. in the margin of Ibn ^CAqīl, Cairo 1925, 203). If this is plagiarism it is not without irony, for as-Suyūṭī (d. 1505, G.A.L. II, 143) is himself best known for the energy and thoroughness with which he reproduced the contents of earlier works.

(4) Too much study of grammar, it has been remarked, drives one mad (cf. J. Kramers, *Analecta Orientalia*, Leiden 1956, II, 167).

(5) Translations of grammatical texts are few, and of unequal merit and reliability. Still useful is S. de Sacy, *Anthologie grammaticale arabe*, Paris 1829 (see below). Among available translations are:

al-Ḥarīrī, *Molhat al-Irab, ou les récréations grammaticales*, L. Pinto, Paris n.d. (1904?, cf. G.A.L. I, 277 and Suppl.).

Ibn Ājurrūm, *Einleitung in das Studium der arabischen Grammatiker, die Ajrūmiyyah des Muḥammad b. Daūd*, E. Trumpp, Munich 1876 (but see Fleischer, *Kl. Schr.* II, 75). Other translations, G.A.L. II, 237.

Ibn ^CAqīl, *Ibn ^CAqīl's Commentar zur Alfijja des Ibn Mālik*, F. Dieterici, Berlin 1852.

Ibn Hišām, (a) *Qaṭr an-nadā wa-ball aš-ṣadā, la pluie de rosée, étanche-ment de la soif*, A. Goguyer, Leiden 1887.

(b) *Al-'iCrāb Can qawā^Cid al-'iCrāb*, de Sacy, *Anthologie gram. ar.*,

155-225 (Arabic text 73-92).

Ibn Mālik (a) *L'Alfiyya*, L. Pinto, Constantine 1887.

(b) *La 'Alfiyyah d'Ibnu Malik*, A. Goguyer, Paris 1888.

(c) *L'Alfiyah*, E. Vitto, Beirut 1898 (Italian).

(d) *Alfiyya*, extracts, de Sacy, *Anthologie gram. ar.*, 315-347 (Arabic text 134-144).

al-Muṭarrizī, *Miṣbāḥ*, extract, de Sacy, op. cit. 224-239 (Ar. text 93-98).

ar-Rummānī, *Sieben Kapitel des Šarḥ Kitāb Sībawaihi von ar-Rummānī in Edition und Übersetzung*, E. Ambros, Vienna 1979.

Sībawayhi (a) *Sībawaihi's Buch über die Grammatik, übersetzt und erklärt*, G. Jahn, Berlin 1895-1900.

(b) *Kitāb*, extracts, de Sacy, op. cit. 361-407 (Ar. text 152-166).

az-Zamaḡṣarī, *Unmūdaj*, extract, de Sacy, op. cit. 240-280 (Ar. text 99-118).

(6) See 0.5 n 2 on the rhyming prose.

(7) Nevertheless the reader should not be deterred from consulting the following works of reference for further guidance:

Bakalla M. H., *Bibliography of Arabic Linguistics*, London 1975.

Encyclopaedia of Islam, 1st ed., Leiden/London 1908-1934, 2nd ed. Leiden/London 1960-.

Hospers J. H., *A Basic Bibliography for the Study of the Semitic Languages*, vol. II, Leiden 1974.

Linguistic Bibliography/Bibliographie Linguistique, Utrecht/Brussels 1949-.

Pearson J. D., *Index Islamicus*, Cambridge 1958, then London 1972-.

(8) Here we summarize what little is known about the life of aš-Širbīnī and his works. In Ibn al-ʿImād's biographical dictionary (loc. cit. *G.A.L.* II, Suppl. 441) aš-Širbīnī (after the village of Širbīn in his native Egypt, cf. 11.721 n 4) is conventionally eulogized as a man of outstanding piety and learning, which are confirmed by his authorship of a large *Commentary* on the Qur'ān, several minor religious treatises, and some grammatical works (cf. 1.0 n 3, but see 0.4 n 6). He died on the 11th January 1570, at what age is not known, though one of his biographers (aš-Šaʿrānī, apud al-*Kitāḡ al-jadīda*, see *G.A.L.* II, 320) says that he had known him for forty years.

He would thus have lived through perhaps the entire reign of the most successful of the Ottoman Sultans, Sulaymān the Great (1520-66), during which period Egypt became definitively absorbed into the Ottoman Empire. This has been interpreted as an eclipse of Arabs by Turks, but culturally at least it was an era of profound intellectual complacency in which the Arabic language unquestionably remained the dominant medium, however unadventurously it functioned.